In Memoriam

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August 1, 1953.

THE OLD TESTAMENT

A STUDY IN THE HEBREW SACRED WRITINGS

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THE OLD TESTAMENT

A STUDY IN THE HEBREW SACRED WRITINGS

BY THE REVEREND

LORING W. BATTEN, Ph.D., S.T.D.

Professor in the General Theological Seminary, New York; author of "The Old Testament from the Modern Point of View," "The Hebrew Prophet," "Ezra-Nehemiah" in "The International Critical Commentary."

The University Press
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH
SEWANEE, TENNESSEE

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE object of this series is to provide for the clergy and laity of the Church a statement, in convenient form, of its Doctrine, Discipline and Worship—as well as to meet the often expressed desire on the part of Examining Chaplains for text-books which they could recommend to candidates for Holy Orders.

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ARTHUR R. GRAY.

PREFACE

WHEN new ideas are first promulgated, it is often doubtful how long they will stand. After the severe testing of experience, they frequently are discovered to be of little pemanent value. When scholars first published new theories about the Old Testament Literature, now many years ago, their arguments were assailed vigorously, and a short life predicted for their ideas.

As a matter of history the new opinions have prevailed, and many saw that they must prevail, because they were not in the main wild speculations, but were sober conclusions based upon incontrovertible facts. The serious modern scholarship recognized certain statements in the sacred literature, and saw their force, and built up their opinions accordingly. These theories have stood the test of the most rigid criticism, and have been firmly established and generally received. It is true that in the course of this development a good many radical conjectures have been put forth, but these have been sifted and found wanting, and must not be identified with the sounder criticism which has contributed so wonderfully to a better understanding of the Hebrew Bible.

In this book the results of that sound criticism, which have stood the test of repeated and searching

investigation, are set forth freely. We can no longer read the Old Testament intelligently, if we ignore these modern views. This work is designed to serve as a guide for those who wish to use their intelligence, and to know the truth. I am sure that in the end they will find the truth helpful rather than harmful, and realize that God revealed His purposes and held forth a helping hand in the days of old, as He does in the days that are present.

L. W. Batten.

General Theological Seminary,
New York, October 1, 1917.

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THE OLD TESTAMENT

I.

GENERAL NOTES

THE Old Testament has often been called a library. The proper title, *Biblia Hebraica*, means *the Hebrew books*. It is truly a library, for it contains almost every variety of literary production,—history, biography, story, personal memoirs, law, legend, speech, lyric and dramatic poetry, genealogy, philosophy,—all find a place. Further in this library are gathered the literary treasures of many centuries. In this respect the Old Testament is sharply contrasted with the New. In the latter the various books were composed within a half century, but in the former the writings extend over a period of at least a thousand years. The Old Testament contains the surviving literature of a nation marked by a peculiar genius for religion, and almost every part shows the impress of this religious spirit, no matter what the particular literary character or the age from which it came.

When we open this volume we are confused for a moment by two conditions: first, in the various editions of the Old Testament the arrangement of the

books varies; and, second, the limits are not the same, some editions containing books or fragments not found in the others. These peculiar conditions require explanation.

The different arrangement.—In the Hebrew Bible the books are arranged in three groups, though one group is subdivided. In the English Old Testament there is no attempt to mark any divisions except those between the various books, and yet there is a manifest arrangement by groups, though the arrangement is radically different from the Hebrew. A table will make this plain:—

		Hebrew Canon	*English Canon*
I.	*Torah* or The Law	Genesis	Genesis
		Exodus	Exodus
		Leviticus	Leviticus
		Numbers	Numbers
		Deuteronomy	Deuteronomy
II, 1.	*Prophetæ Priores* or Earlier Prophets	Joshua	Joshua
		Judges	Judges
		Samuel	Ruth
		Kings	Samuel
			Kings
			Chronicles
			Ezra
			Nehemiah
			Esther
			Job
			Psalms
			Proverbs
			Ecclesiastes
			Canticles

		Hebrew Canon	*English Canon*
II, 2.	*Prophetæ Posteriores* or Later Prophets	Isaiah	Isaiah
		Jeremiah	Jeremiah
		Ezekiel	Lamentations
		Hosea	Ezekiel
		Joel	Daniel
		Amos	Hosea
		Obadiah	Joel
		Jonah	Amos
		Micah	Obadiah
		Nahum	Jonah
		Habakkuk	Micah
		Zephaniah	Nahum
		Haggai	Habakkuk
		Zechariah	Zephaniah
		Malachi	Haggai
			Zechariah
			Malachi
III.	*Kethubim* or The Writings or *Hagiographa*	Psalms	
		Proverbs	
		Job	
		Canticles	
		Ruth	
		Lamentations	
		Ecclesiastes	
		Esther	
		Daniel	
		Ezra	
		Nehemiah	
		Chronicles	

In I there is perfect agreement, but after that we find great divergence, except in II, 2, where Lamentations and Daniel are found in one edition but not in the other, neither book being grouped with the prophets in the Hebrew canon. Passing over for

the moment the details of the variations, we will seek first some general principle.

The arrangement found in the English Bible is not due to the translators, but shows rather the great influence of the Greek and Latin versions of the Old Testament, the Septuagint and the Vulgate. The English follows the Latin more closely than the Greek, though the Greek and English arrangements are the same in principle, and the slight differences are unimportant.

The principle of the English arrangement is not far to seek; a glance shows that the basis is literary. Outside of the Pentateuch, which early became too fixed to admit of change, there is first a group of narrative books, then groups respectively of poetical and prophetic books. Other considerations have had some influence, for Ecclesiastes is in the poetic group, probably from a certain resemblance of subject-matter; Lamentations is placed after Jeremiah from a belief in a common authorship. Within each group there is an obvious attempt to arrange the books in chronological order; so Ruth is placed after Judges, because of its opening sentence, "and it came to pass in the days when the judges judged."

A principle governing the arrangement of the Hebrew canon is by no means so obvious. That a literary principle exerted some influence is apparent in the grouping together of the great body of narrative (Joshua-Kings); in the strict classification of the prophets from which Lamentations and Daniel are

excluded; and in the sequence of the four poetical books. A chronological priciple is evident also, for the narrative and prophetic books stand roughly in the order of their composition. And yet neither principle is carried out strictly, for Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah is of the same literary class as Kings, and yet is in another group, and every Hebrew editor must have know that Amos and Hosea and Micah were earlier than Jeremiah and Ezekiel. So far as the prophets are concerned books seem to be arranged on the double principle of size and chronology, with the former largely controlling. The larger books for the most part stand first, but chronological order appears in that Zechariah is next to the last book, though it is the largest of the minor prophets.

It is possible to go further and discover the actually controlling principle in the Hebrew arrangement, for it reveals the order in which the books were recognized as canonical. The Pentateuch was recognized as canonical long before any other part was received, hence there is no variation in this group. The third is quite a miscellaneous collection, but all its parts are late, at least so far as admission to the canon is concerned, and as it usually takes a certain time to prepare a book for canonization, it is safe to assume that the books in this group are of late origin. It is of course possible that some of them may contain early material; this is especially probable of Psalms and Proverbs. It is only by this standard that we can explain the fact that Chronicles follows Ezra and

Nehemiah. It is a well-known fact that Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah is really a single book and comes from one hand, yet it is divided and the parts are reversed, Ezra-Nehemiah, which deals with the post-exilic period, preceding Chronicles, which deals with the pre-exilic age. Chronicles was a duplicate, as it covers ground already treated in accepted books, therefore it would not readily be accepted as canonical; while Ezra-Nehemiah is the only history of the Persian period, and having no rival, quickly found a recognized place in the canon.

The different limits.—The Greek and Latin Bibles contain much more material than the Hebrew, for they contain that large addition known as the Apocrypha, which is allowed in some English editions while from others it is rigorously excluded. When this part is found in an English Bible it is separated from all the rest as a sort of appendix. It is not so in the Greek texts, in which the so-called apocryphal books are mixed in with the others with no discriminating marks whatever. Indeed there is one notable case where a preference is shown for the edition later put under the ban, for the apocryphal I Esdras preceds the canonical II Esdras.

The basis of the division of the apocryphal from the canonical books, a comparatively modern distinction, is simple, and yet purely arbitrary, for all books are thrown into the former category, which do not exist in a Hebrew original. A book known only in a Greek

version was relegated in the Anglican Church to a secondary position,—in most Protestant Churches to an extra-biblical place.

There are some strange results of this rather reckless procedure. I Esdras is as truly a translation of a Semitic original as II Esdras, but it was not so slavishly literal, and accordingly it is pushed into the apocryphal collection. I Maccabees is among the best of all the sources we have for Hebrew history, far purer in this respect than Joshua or Chronicles, yet the latter have been elevated to a position of authority which the former lacks. There are some most beautiful passages in Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, but these books have been sadly neglected, because they are wholly excluded from most English Bibles and occupy a decidedly subordinate position in others.

The basis of the division is not only arbitrary, but is really unsound. I have stated that I Esdras is really a free translation of 2 Chr. 35 f., Ezr. entire, and Neh. viii, 1-12, but it contains some additional matter (I Esd. iii, 1-v, 6), and that contributed to its downfall in spite of its very great value as an aid in textual and historical criticism. Then again in recent years there was the remarkable discovery of portions of the Hebrew original of Ecclesiasticus. On the principle of the separation rightly applied, therefore, these two books ought to have a place in the canon. Indeed it is quite impossible to justify the division on any principle whatever. There is a good deal of a legendary character in the apocryphal narratives, but

the biblical stories contain the same elements and sometimes to a pretty great degree.

It is sometimes forgotten that the original language of the Old Testament is not Hebrew alone, for Aramaic, a closely related Semitic tongue, finds a place as well. The parts which have come down to us in Aramaic are first two minute fragments: an appellation in Gen. xxxi, 47 (*Yegar-sahadutha* — the heap of witness), and a whole verse in Jeremiah (i, 11); then considerable sections in two post-exilic books,— i.e., Dan. ii, 46-vii, 28; Ezr. iv, 7-vi, 18; vii, 12-26. The amount is proportionately very small, but it is very real, so that to read the Old Testament in the original requires a knowledge of two Semitic languages. It may be added that the Aramaic portions can easily be mastered by one well versed in Hebrew.

The fairly good student can very quickly acquire enough Hebrew to read the main parts of the Old Testament, for that language is not as hard as it looks. At first it is a little trying to read backwards, to recognize the mysterious characters, and to perceive vowels in the arbitrary marks above or below or on the line. But the Hebrew syntax is very simple. The student is not forever baffled as he is in Greek or Latin with the problem of construction; and the vocabulary is quite limited, so that once knowing the meaning of a few hundred words, Hebrew narrative may be read rapidly.

It is desirable to call the reader's attention to some general characteristics of the Old Testament literature before entering upon the study of the various sections and books. The first point to emphasize is the composite character of nearly all the books in their present form. Nearly every book shows the work of different hands in its structure. The books are like the great cathedrals which were centuries in building, and which reveal not only the work of many different architects, but also the styles of different periods.

This composite element is due to two causes: the method of composition and the editing. The latter may be disposed of in a few words, because it is a literary process well known and much used to-day. We use an edition of Gesenius's Hebrew Lexicon edited by Buhl. There are no marks to indicate the work of a new hand, and it is not necessary. The book must be kept up to date, and the editor now makes necessary corrections and additions just as the author did in his lifetime. Many of our hymns betray the hands of editors. A poem is written which it is conceived would make a fine hymn by some slight changes, usually from a doctrinal interest.

The same process appears frequently in the Old Testament. If one studies a book like Briggs's "Psalms" (in the *International Critical Commentary*), he will be struck with the vast number of cases in which it is held that additions have been made to the original poem. Even though we cannot accept all of Briggs's conclusions, he has given enough evidence

to prove that these beautiful religious poems have been subjected to much editorial revision.

Sometimes the editor contents himself with explanatory notes. Thus in the book of Judges stories are told for a purpose, and at the beginning and end of the stories there are usually a few notes to explain what the purpose was. Sometimes the editor adds these notes to make a necessary connecting link between two different sources which are combined. For example in Neh. vii, 5 there is such a note. The first part of the verse is from Nehemiah's memoirs, and originally it described an assembly called by Nehemiah to procure a sufficient number of inhabitants for Jerusalem.[1] The editor, however, saw fit to annex directly a list of the people who had come up from the exile, and he joins the two quite unrelated parts by this explanatory note: "And I found the books of the genealogy of them that came up at the first, and I found written therein."

In other cases the editor has been obliged to modify the material which he has found in his sources to make it better fit the purpose he has in hand. A good illustration is found in Ezr. iii. The chronicler who compiled these books[2] used as a working hypothesis a theory found in one of his Aramaic sources that the returned pilgrims had begun the rebuilding of the temple under the lead of Sheshbazzar and in the time

[1] A careful study of Neh. vii, 4, makes this plain.

[2] See further under "Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah."

of Cyrus, about 536 B.C. Now Ezra iii describes, among other things, at least in its original form, the actual building and dedication of the temple under the leadership of Zerubbabel and in the time of Darius, fifteen years later (521 B.C.). The chronicler therefore must modify this material, or his hypothesis will not stand. Therefore he apparently ignores the change of leadership and edits his material until, in a very confused fashion, it seems to say that only the foundations of the temple were laid.[3] Without going into the matter further, we may assert that the editor's work is apparent in multitudes of places, and that the original material has been changed very greatly as a result. These editors sought to interpret the material they presented, the proper business of an editor, and the critical student must watch for these editorial notes and test their interpretative value.

I have intimated already something about the process of compilation, a feature discoverable in the great majority of the books of the Old Testament as well as in some of those in the New Testament.[4] There were numerous methods employed by the compilers, but we need here consider only three:—

1. The editor collects material of a common type or on a common theme and makes it into what has come down to us as an Old Testament book. Thus

[3] The demonstration may be found in "Ezra-Nehemiah" (in *International Critical Commentary*).

[4] Note particularly the Synoptic Gospels.

the book of Proverbs consists of eight parts, and in most of the separate parts we find a collection of gnomic sayings which it must have taken a collector a long time to gather. The same method has been employed in the Psalter. There is the religious poetry of several centuries. Probably the editor of the book never wrote a poem in his life; but he has carefully compiled the works of others and so has preserved this matchless treasury of religious poetry. Most of the prophetic books reveal the same method. In the great book of Isaiah only a small proportion of the whole is from the pen of Isaiah, the son of Amoz. A compiler sought to make a great collection of the finest prophetic material. He chose the finest pieces irrespective of age or authorship, for the book discloses several hands and covers at least three centuries. As the writings of Isaiah stood at the beginning the book was called by his name, just as a volume of sermons or essays may be named from the title of the first piece in the book.[5] The editor knew nothing of devices, which the literary ethics of our days would demand, by which to show the authors of the various parts. He was not concerned with issuing a new edition of the complete works of any author, but with the preservation of the greatest utterances of the men raised up of God to carry a divine message to men.

2. Another method of compiling books was to insert long sections from preëxisting sources and to

[5] e.g., Brooks's *Candle of the Lord.*

supplement these with original additions. A good example is the book of Chronicles, where we have a control; for Chronicles is parallel with earlier historic books, especially Samuel and Kings, and contains many passages taken bodily from these books.[6] Like a good editor the author has often retouched this material to make it harmonize better with his own purpose, or with the ideas of his times.[7] There is a large amount of other material which is supposed to come from his own pen. It would appear that he used the earlier sources wherever they suited his purpose, and composed when his views of the history differed from that of his sources.

3. The third method is that in which the editor effaces himself, contenting himself with compiling sources to suit his purpose. The editor has certain documents before him. He does not follow the modern methods of studying and digesting and then writing in his own way. He chooses passages from one source and another, placing them in sequence or weaving them together most intricately as may best serve his end. Let us suppose he is writing an account of a battle. He has before him three original

[6] More definite information on this point will be found under "Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah."

[7] A good illustration of this appears in the substitution of Satan for Jahveh (1 Chr. xxi 1; cf. 2 Sam. xxiv, 1). In the chronicler's time the belief that Jahveh deliberately led David into trouble was intolerable. He avoids the difficulty by ascribing the act to Satan.

accounts—A, B, and C. He wants to reduce the three to one. He chooses a long passage from B, a short one from A, and a long one from C. Then he may take mere sentences from B and a longer excerpt from A, and so on until the story is complete. The result must inevitably be on the one hand that his finished work shows duplication, variety of style, etc., and on the other hand it is certain that he will not introduce all of his original sources, and so there results the loss of priceless material. We could hardly bear our realiaztion of the loss of great sections of 'J' (one of the sources in the Pentateuch), but for the feeling that but for the compilation which has preserved a part, the whole might possibly have been lost. Further illustration of this method will appear in the study of the Pentateuch.

To understand the writings of any people we must know something of their fundamental ideas. There is an immense amount of misunderstanding of the Old Testament because an Occidental people approach an Oriental book holding tenaciously to their own conceptions. We could not sympathetically comprehend insistence upon prayer to the Virgin Mary in a Roman Catholic book without knowing the Roman teaching about praying to the saints. Before turning to the various books of the Old Testament, therefore, it is expedient to consider some of these fundamental ideas which lie behind so much of this sacred literature.

And yet the most vital thought may be stated simply, though it will be found in many ramifications. The Hebrews believed that God's hand was manifest everywhere. All known phenomena were divided into two classes,—those within and those without human comprehension; those within and those without known human power; and all phenomena beyond human comprehension and power were regarded as the direct work of God. A man could make a wagon, and in the wagon the hand of God is not seen; but a man could not make a blade of grass to grow, and that is the direct act of God. A man may kill his neighbor, and the hand of God is not seen in murder; but a man cannot bring a plague (speaking from the ancient point of view: we know better now), and that was always the direct act of God.

To the Hebrew mind the distinction between the natural and the supernatural was pretty ill-defined. The Hebrew made little use of such divisions, and we should better comprehend the wonderful religious treasures left by these people, if we approached the study with the distinction quite obliterated. The fact is that the emphasizing of that distinction has been inimical to a sound theology and it has worked havoc in the interpretation of the Bible.

The ancient Hebrew had a high degree of imagination, but he was deficient in critical reasoning powers. His mental state was good for the development of a fine religious spirit, but poor for the construction of dogmatic theology. He believed firmly that with

God nothing is impossible, and he attributed naturally everything to God that transcended human knowledge or human experience.

To illustrate this far-reaching principle, let us take first the dream. While awake a man can control and in the main account for his thoughts. But while asleep he has no such power; therefore the dream is a direct creation of God's, and has the purpose of revelation. But there is a mystery in a dream, as we are really beginning to learn to-day, and to find out its meaning requires a skill beyond that possessed by ordinary man; therefore the men of God, like Joseph and Daniel, are skilful in the interpretation of dreams. God may give His revelations by dreams to others than Hebrews, and so Joseph says to Pharoah, "what God is about to do he hath declared unto Pharoah" (Gen. xli, 25). Daniel shows the larger view when he says to Nebuchadnezzar, "there is a God in heaven that revealeth secrets and he hath made known to the king what shall be in the latter days" (Dan. ii, 28).

A man may know what has already taken place or what takes place within the range of his observation, and God's aid is not seen in that; but some men were able to tell what would take place to-morrow, or what had occurred beyond their field of vision, and God's part was indispensable here. Some men were able to do things impossible to others, like turning a rod into a serpent, bringing a storm in the dry season, making the sacrifice to catch fire, turning the shadow back on the step-clock. God's aid was vital and the men who

could do such things were prophets, men whose life in all ways was controlled of God, so that when a prophet spoke it was because God directed him to speak (e.g. Am. vii. 15), and what he said he was directed of God to say, so that it was inevitable that he should prefix "thus saith Jahveh" to his prophecies.

The people understood the ordinary conditions of childbirth, and children born under those conditions are just ordinary children. But it occasionally happens in all ages that children are born under peculiar conditions. Women supposed to be barren like Hannah, or that have entered the involution period, nevertheless bear sons.[8] The conception is due to a direct divine act, and the child takes on more or less of a divine character; thus we have such men of God as Samson, Samuel, and John Baptist.[9] All such cases were evidences of God's ability and readiness to make good all sorts of human defects.

Again we see the principle illustrated in war. The Hebrews knew the uncertainty of the issue of battles. There was no use trying to understand defeat and victory. Indeed we often explain now with but a partial understanding. The Hebrew had a great faith and it enabled him to formulate a simple principle. Whenever the army of Israel conquered it was due to the presence and aid of Jehovah; whenever the

[8] I recall no case of a daughter born under such circumstances.

[9] Isaac was born under similar conditions, but the divine purpose was not realized in his life. It sufficed in his case that Abraham should have an heir.

troops were defeated, the failure was due to the withdrawal of the divine favor. Thus an army attacked Ai and was repulsed. The cause was ascertained to be the sin of Achan. The culprit was punished; another army assailed the city and it fell; for God's anger was removed and His assistance turned defeat into victory (Josh. vii, ff.). The Hebrew historian faithfully records the difference between the two assaults,— in the one with a small force of over-confident soldiers, making an open frontal attack, and defeated with only the loss of thirty men; in the other with a large force and with clever military strategy,— but he cares for none of these things, because he is loyal to his fundamental principle that battles are won or lost as God is favorably or unfavorably disposed towards his people.

Little need be said about the manifestation of God in natural phenomena. He makes the grass to grow and the flowers to bloom, sends the bountiful harvest or the mildew; He causes rain in the seeding time, or parches the soil with drought; He makes the sun to shine and the stars to sparkle; He sends the fair day and the storm; He feeds the wild animals in the forest, the birds in the air and the fishes in the sea, and orders the conditions under which they live. Naturally the earth and all things above it, on it, and in it, were God's handiwork. The Hebrew could turn anywhere at any time and always see the unquestioned witness of the being and activity of his God.

A recollection of these theological ideas is indispensable to the student of the Hebrew literature.

II.

THE PENTATEUCH

THE first five books of the Old Testament are called in the Hebrew canon the *Torah*, which means *the law*, though they contain much material that is not of a legal character. But the law became the authoritative guide in Jewish life, and the group of books containing the legal codes were accorded first place in the canon. These books were the first to obtain what we know as canonical authority, in spite of the fact that many other Old Testament writings were earlier. The *Torah* was the only part of the Hebrew Bible that was ever accepted by the Samaritans.

These books contain three kinds of material, looking at them from the literary point of view,—narrative, legal, and poetical. The poems are incidental, being scattered, as they are in other narrative books. Disregarding this element for the time, we note that Genesis is wholly narrative, Leviticus and Deuteronomy are legal; the former wholly so, the latter practically a legal book, while Exodus and Numbers are composed of both law and story. It is advisable to consider these three elements in a general way:—

1. *The Narrative portions.*—There is a notable difference between Genesis on the one hand and Exodus and Numbers on the other. The story in the

former is concerned with individuals, while the latter deals with the history of the twelve tribes. The former covers a very long space of time, while the latter includes only a single generation, or strictly the lifetime of an individual,—Exodus beginning with the birth of Moses and Deuteronomy ending with his death. In all this story Moses is the central figure, and from one point of view we might call the whole narrative a life of Moses, as Genesis is mainly the lives of the patriarchs.

2. *The Poetical portions.*—These consist mainly of three long poems, closely connected with the story in which they are imbedded: the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix, 2-27), the Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii, 1-43), and the Blessing of Moses (ib. xxxiii). The first and third are similar in that the tribes of Israel are named separately. There is besides a number of smaller poems, the Sword-Song of Lamech (Gen. iv, 23 f.), Noah's Curse of Canaan (ib. ix, 25 ff.), the Blessings of Isaac, on Jacob (ib. xxvii, 27 ff.), on Esau (ib. xxvii, 39 f.), the Song of the Sea (Ex. xv, 1-18), the Song of the Arnon (Num. xxi, 14 f.), the Song of the Well (ib. xxi, 17 f.), the Song of Heshbon (ib. xxi, 27-30), and the Oracles of Balaam (Num. xxii, f.), which are all in poetry.

3. *The Legal portions.*—In the Pentateuchal books it must be remembered there is preserved the whole body of Jewish law,—that is, the law springing up in the course of the history of the people. The law cer-

tainly comes from various periods, and doubtless God chose many different men as the channels of His communications. As there were many prophets and many wise men and many poets, so there must have been many lawgivers, even though Moses was unquestionably the first and greatest.

On the problem of the origin of Jewish law there is first the late tradition that the whole series of codes was given directly to Moses. This tradition, however, will not stand the test of criticism, and we are forced to search further. There are some bits of information which do seem to throw some light upon the problem. One is in the story of the visit of Jethro to Moses, his son-in-law (Ex. xviii). Jethro saw that Moses alone was acting as judge, and that the people with cases to be adjudicated were so many that they were kept waiting all day. He therefore advised Moses to appoint suitable deputies to hear the pleas of the people, Moses himself being chief judge, and his plan was put into execution.

The decisions of a judge have the effect of laws, and laws of the most binding character. A decision of the Supreme Court has a much greater authority than an act of Congress; for the decision of that court may set aside an act of Congress, but no act of Congress can remove a decision of the Supreme Court. The decisions of Moses and of the judges designated by him would at once have the effect of law, and as Moses was the supreme judge of the Israelitish tribes

for so many years at the beginning of their history, it follows that Hebrew law owes more to him than to any other man.

There is a similar instance in the life of David. Two hundred of his men were exhausted in the pursuit of the Amalekites and had to be left behind. When David returned from the successful battle, the four hundred who had "borne the burden and heat of the day" insisted that only those who had reached the front should share in the captured goods. David's decision was: "as his share is that was going down to the battle, so shall his share be that was abiding by the baggage: they shall share alike." To this is added the specific statement: "and it was from that day forward, and he ordered it for a statute and an ordinance to Israel unto this day" (1 Sam. xxx, 24 f.). Other indications of laws coming from decisions may be seen in Num. ix, 8; xv, 34; xxvii, 5.[1]

The conclusion that in these incidents we find the key to the origin of the Jewish law is not inconsistent with the Divine character of that law unless we hold as a fundamental principle that God does not act through men. If he spoke by Moses, he spoke by David and by other judges too.

The whole body of Jewish law, though coming from many ages, may be conveniently divided into three codes:—

[1] This material has already been used in my *Old Testament from the Modern Point of View*, p. 151 f. The fact that that book is out of print justifies the repetition.

1. *The Code of the Covenant* is the briefest, the simplest and the earliest.—This is found in Ex. xx, 23-xxiii, 33. The section is called "the book of the covenant" (ib. xxiv, 7), because the people covenanted to observe these laws. With this body of laws belongs the very similar "little book of the covenant" (Ex. xxxiv, 11-26). This code is embodied in the narrative of the Elohist, and is certainly not later than the ninth century B.C. It is generally held that the Elohist found the code already in written form, so that this body of laws may be much earlier. The laws all show their appropriateness to a simple form of life. Yet they do not go back to the nomadic stage of Hebrew history, for they show that the people lived a settled life, apparently the chief industry being agriculture. Some of the laws certainly imply the agricultural stage (see Ex. xxii, 5 f., 29; xxiii, 10 f., 16).

2. *The Deuteronomic Code.*—This body of law is found in Deut. xii-xxvi, the earlier chapters being introductory. It is possible to determine very accurately the date of this code, as its appearance is clearly found in the reign of King Josiah (638-608 B.C.; see below on Deuteronomy). The laws in this book deal with the same subjects covered by the Code of the Covenant (see the table in Driver's "Deut.," *Int. Crit. Comm.*, p. iv ff.). A comparative study of the laws that are parallel shows that those in Deuteronomy are much elaborated and belong to a far more advanced stage of civilization. It is perfectly possible that the ultimate

source of many of them is the decisions of Moses, and so there may be some basis for connecting his name with a book appearing several centuries after his death.

3. *The Priest Code.*—These laws undoubtedly represent the collected judgments of the priests. The priests were in all ages accorded certain judicial functions, and the regulation of religious rites was naturally their particular field. This is the most extensive of the codes, covering considerable sections of Exodus, all of Leviticus, and part of Numbers. In this body of law there are enactments regulating the social and commercial life of the people, and so it is in part parallel to the other codes. But the main subjects covered deal with the ecclesiastical institutions. Futher details of those laws will appear in connection with our review of the various books.

The date of the appearance of this law is still a debated question. All scholars have abandoned any connection with Moses, but certain writers seem to think it vital that this writing shall be assigned to the pre-exilic period. One might think from the importance attached to this date that God had no concern with the Jewish Church in the post-exilic period.

The question must, however, be settled by evidence, not by prejudice, and it seems clear that those who contend for a post-exilic date have the preponderance of substantial evidence. To go into the matter fully does not concern us here; yet a few arguments may

be stated. Deuteronomy is certainly earlier, and as that book appeared only forty years before the exile, there does not seem to be room enough to crowd in a new and elaborate code, especially in those days of distress when the nation was declining so rapidly. Ezekiel wrote a code of laws to be the programme of the restored nation (cc. xl-xlviii). His code is simpler and apparently earlier than the priest code, and as he was a prophet to the exiles, the latter must be post-exilic. It is inconceivable that a loyal priest of the Jewish Church like Ezekiel would have written a new code if there were one already in existence which would serve his purpose admirably. In the restoration period, Nehemiah instituted a number of reforms on the basis of law, and the laws which he enforces are in Deuteronomy, not in P. Then we have an account of the introduction of a new law in the post-exilic period (Neh. viii, 1-12), a law quite unknown to any of the people, not even to the Levites and other leaders. That incident makes a good setting for the introduction of the priest code.

That the Pentateuch is not the work of a single writer has long been recognized. The analysis of these books which used to be the critical battle-ground has been accepted by all students. Indeed it is quite impossible to weigh the evidence dispassionately and reach any other conclusion. It would be difficult to guess at the number of sources which enter into the composition of the Pentateuch, but for

all practical purposes it is only necessary to consider four. It is true that those same sources are found in other books,— assuredly in Joshua, and probably, as many writers contend, in Samuel and Kings. In their chronological order these sources require brief discussion:—

1. *The Jahwistic writer*, denoted by the symbol J.—The evidence indicates that J belonged to the kingdom of Judah, making the symbol doubly appropriate, and that his date was the ninth century B.C. It would appear that he wrote a history of his people from the Creation down to approximately his own day, though only parts of the original have been used by the compilers of the various books.

This writer regularly uses the divine name Jahveh. That fact is evidence that he belonged to a school or party, for undoubtedly there was a great deal of dispute as to whether Jahveh or Elohim was the proper title for God. The Elohists won out in the end, and the time came when no orthodox Jew would use the name Jahveh, and so the proper pronunciation of the name was lost.[2]

The J document reveals numerous characteristics

[2] I have adhered to the conventional form *Jahveh*, though it is now pretty certain that that spelling is only approximately correct. The evidence from the Elephantine papyri ought to clear the matter up. Yet authorities differ. Sachau confidently gives the form *Jaho*, while Arnold as positively contends for *Jahu*. The former is best supported by Hebrew proper names, in which *Jeho* is a common element; but *Jehu* never occurs.

which as a rule make its identification certain. One of the most striking characteristics, apart from the use of *Jahveh*, is the anthropomorphic conception of God. It is in this source that we find numerous theophanies,—Jahveh walking upon the earth and holding direct converse with men. The story of the visit to Adam is a good illustration (Gen. iii, 8 ff.). J is unsurpassed as a story-teller. His narrative is vivid and picturesque. He belongs to the prophetic school, as his object is always religious teaching. He scarcely tells a story except with a religious motive.

2. *The Elohistic writer*, denoted by the symbol E.—This writer uses Elohim as the proper title for God. In his work the divine revelation comes to man rather by dreams and by prophets than by direct speech. He is quite as much a writer of the prophetic school as J. On account of the similarity of the point of view it is often quite impossible to distinguish between these two. His document as it has come down to us does not go into the pre-patriarchal history, but begins with Abraham. His interest was merely in the history of his own people. It is generaly agreed that he was a native of the Northern Kingdom, and that his date is the same as that of J, or possibly a little later.

3. *The Deuteronomic writer*, known by the symbol D.—From this source we have the book of Deuteronomy, but nothing else in the Pentateuch, though there is much from D or his school in the later books. The

study of this book in its proper place will show the characteristics of this source.

4. *The Priestly writer*, designated P.—From this source comes all of the priestly law, referred to above, a considerable body of narrative, and a large amount of genealogical data. The systematic character of this writer is shown from the fact that he invariably[8] uses the term Elohim until he reaches the story of the revelation of the name Jahveh in Ex. vi, 2. He shows the same regard for system and order in all of his work. He is fond of chronology, and so puts in dates where they do not occur in other sources. He is inclined towards a trancendental theology, knowing neither angels nor dreams nor theophanies. This writer always speaks from a priestly point of view; he uses many peculiar expressions, and his work is therefore easily recognized.

The compiler of the Pentateuch wrote practically nothing himself. His method was to choose and combine from his sources, using such parts as best served his purpose. Sometimes he takes long passages from one of his sources, and at other times he weaves the two sources into a single narrative, often to the great bewilderment of the modern reader. Thus in the beginning he quotes the story of the

[8] The two exceptions (Gen. xvii, 1; xxi, 1) are doubtless textual errors. A writer like P would hardly blunder with this simple system.

Creation from each of two sources, putting one right after the other in its entirety: P, Gen. i, 1-ii, 4*a*; J, ii, 4*b*-25. But in the account of the flood, J and P are woven together so closely that considerable ingenuity is required to separate them, and the story is rather hard to read as it stands.

The motive of this compilation is easy to conjecture. It seems highly probable that it was done to avoid conflicts of authority. There were at least two parallel histories of the same period, for J and E had already been combined into one. At many points these histories differed, and so their authority was lessened. The compiler essayed to relieve this difficulty, and his success was greater than at first sight appears, for it was many centuries before the discovery of the absolute lack of unity in the Pentateuch.

The date of the compilation is not easily determinable. If the contention is correct that Ezra introduced the priestly law, then the Pentateuch would have arisen at the earliest in the fourth century B.C. Whatever may be its date and whoever may have been its compiler, the world is fortunate in the preservation of this rich body of religious literature. When we think of the tragedy it would have been had the writer really written a new book and his sources been lost, we are profoundly grateful for his somewhat mechanical method. However much he may have spoiled by alteration or sacrificed by omission, there is a large amount of these priceless treasures which have been saved by his scheme.

Genesis

This book divides naturally into parts cc. i-xi, called sometimes the book of origins, and cc. xii-l the stories of the patriarchs,—Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

The first subject is the origin of the world and that which is upon it. Here we have the duplicate stories of Creation, i,1-ii, 4^a (P); ii, 4^b-25 (J). The great difference between these two sources is strikingly brought out in these accounts. In P we have a logical, systematic and complete story, with a definite scheme of time, and with the origin of the Sabbath as a prominent feature, really the objective of the story. God accomplishes everything by a command, and everything that he made was good. In J the existence of the earth is assumed, but it is barren for lack of rain, and accordingly the first provision is for water. Man is the first created object, not the last as in P, and he is made literally by the hands of God. Then vegetation appears, being created for the good of man. The animal world follows as a first attempt to guard against the loneliness of the individual man, and when this fails of its object, a woman is created, and the institution of marriage is made.

It is interesting to note that P's account, in its main outline, is quite consistent with the theory of evolution, and has always been taken as the Bible story of the origin of the world to the complete exclusion of J's account, which of course is quite impossible

from an evolutionary point of view. Both versions are as one in the vital point, that all created things are the result of God's activity.

The origin of sin is the subject of cc. iii f., all from J. Stress is laid upon the idea that in its inception sin comes from a source external to man. In the second outbreak, though, the source is internal. No serpent tempts Cain to lift his hand against his brother. By the sin of the first pair the whole human race became infected, not by implication but in fact. Emphasis is laid upon the immediate divine punishment of sin,—Adam and Eve are banished from Eden, and Cain is sent out to wander upon the face of the earth. The existence of other peoples, not accounted for in the story, is implied in that Cain fears he may be killed (iv,14), and in that Enoch built a city (iv,17), which he could hardly do with his own hands.

There is one of P's characteristic genealogical tables in c. v. The line is traced from Adam to Noah, and the years lived by each are given. The great ages of the antediluvian patriarchs was once a pretty serious problem. In this day we are happily not disturbed by such things. The length of man's days have not shortened; the figures are wrong.

Then we come to the story of the flood (cc. vi-ix). Driver's table (L O T) assigns to J vi, 1-8; vii, 1-5, 7-10, 12, 16*b*, 17*b*, 22 f.; viii, 2*b*-3*a*, 6-12, 13*b*, 20-22; ix, 18-27, and the rest to P. These figures are given to show how much each source has been cut up in the process of interweaving. The result is not very satis-

factory as it stands, as many differences appear. Thus, the animals enter the ark by pairs (vi, 20 P), but by sevens of the clean animals; by pairs of those that are unclean (vii, 2*b* f. J). We note also the repetition here as in other parts of the story. According to J the duration of he flood was forty days (vii, 4, 12, 17; viii, 6), but in P it was one hundred and fifty days (viii, 3). In both sources the purpose of the flood is the same: man had become so corrupt that a fresh start must be taken, and so provision is made for saving the one righteous man while all others are destroyed.

A careful study of each source shows that the compiler has used P as the basis for his composite version. Doubtless it was more complete and systematic than J, and the latter is used for amplification. Still a fairly complete account of the flood appears in each source.

In c. x there is from J only vv. 8-19, 21, 24-30. The subject is again genealogical, the passage being a systematic account of the children of Noah,—first the sons of Japheth (vv. 2-5), then the sons of Ham (vv. 6 f., 20), and the sons of Shem (vv. 22 f., 31 f.). This is all from P. The redactor has inserted from J detailed accounts of the nations originating from the sons of Noah.

In c. xi we have two subjects: one the story of the tower of Babel (vv. 1-9 J), the object of which is to account for the diversity of human speech; and the other a genealogical table, tracing the line of Shem down to Abraham, or Abram as he is called at that

period. The main part is from P and it is the natural continuation of c.v, using exactly the same scheme.

The second part of Genesis is conveniently divided into four parts:—

1. *Abraham* (xii-xxv, 18).—The story begins with an account of the migration to Canaan, the destined home of the sons of Abraham. The patriarch was soon driven out of the land again by a famine, the result of drought, and ever the curse of the Canaanite country. Here occurs the story of Abraham's duplicity in passing off his wife as his sister, because he feared that Sarah's beauty would attract the Egyptians, and he would be killed that another might be free to take her to wife. When Pharaoh took Sarah as his wife, it is characteristic that the writer says "Jahveh plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because of Sarai" (xii,17). There is a perfect parallel to this story of J in the E document, though the scene is laid in another country (xx, 2 ff.). P is not wont to put such unfavorable stories on record, and it is not surprising that he says nothing of this misrepresentation. It may be noted here that there is a very similar story of Isaac's passing off Rebekah as his sister (xxvi, 7 ff. J).

Then follows the story of the separation of Lot, the nephew of Abraham, who had come with him into Canaan (c. xiii, mostly from J). The point is that the Israelites are descended from Abraham alone. Chapter xiv describes a raid from the East in which Abraham

appears for once, and once only, as a great warrior. This chapter is generally regarded as coming from a source not otherwise represented in the Pentateuch. It is interesting because it introduces the strange character Melchizedek, priest of El Elyon. With c. xv we reach the E document, and a narrative of the covenant in which God promises to give Abraham seed from his own body and the land of Canaan as their home.

Hagar, the handmaid of Sarah, becomes the chief figure in c. xvi, chiefly from J. A barren wife not infrequently substituted a servant; Hagar's pregnancy arouses Sarah's jealousy and the handmaid is forced by persecution to flee. She is led to return by the counsel of God, and Ishmael is born, so that Abraham has an heir. The rite of circumcision is instituted in c. xvii, and this story comes wholly and naturally from P. The circumcision is a part of P's version of the covenant. God promises Abraham a son by Sarah, at which in P it is Abraham who laughs at the idea that a woman ninety years of age should bear a child. Here we have P's version of the changes of name, Abram to Abraham and Sarai to Sarah, both having symbolic meaning. We are told that Abraham and every male in his household were circumcised.

One of the longest continuous sections from J is in cc. xviii f. (xix, 29, is P). There is an account of a theophany in which Abraham is promised a son by Sarah, and in this version it is Sarah who laughs. The

main element is the destruction of Sodom, in connection with which we have the fine description of Abraham's hopeless intercession, the theophany by which Lot is warned, the adequate revelation of the deep wickedness of the Sodomites, the flight of Lot and his family, and the animus against Moab and Ammon shown by the story of their incestuous origin.

There follows a long section, mainly from E (cc. xx-xxii). First there is the parallel to J's story in c. xii of the deception of Abimelech in regard to Sarah, but with much greater detail. Here God makes a revelation to the heathen king by a dream (v. 3); Abraham is called a prophet (v. 7); and the punishment visited upon the whole people is removed when Sarah is restored to her husband as a result of Abraham's intercession. Then we come to the birth of Isaac (c. xxi). Sarah laughs again, but it is no longer a laugh of derision. She becomes jealous of Hagar's son, and so Ishmael and his mother are banished finally. There is an account of a dispute over water, Abimelech's servants being accused of appropriating a well dug by Abraham at Beersheba. The story of Abraham's readiness to offer up his son Isaac as a burnt-offering is unmatched for simple pathos in any literature. From the fragment in J, vv. 15-18, it is evident that the story had a place in both prophetic sources. P would naturaly omit it, for human sacrifice was an abomination to him.

The death of Sarah is described in the P document (c. xxiii). The narrative is chiefly occupied with the

purchase of a burying-place. It is quite typical of the Oriental method of transacting business, in that Ephron offered to make Abraham a present of the land, though he was really striving to secure the maximum price. We are reaching the close of Abraham's career now. He was too old for further activity, and his sole concern is the proper marriage of his son. This story comes wholly from J, and it is evident that the prejudice against foreign marriages was very early indeed. A genealogy of Nahor, Abraham's brother, is given (xxii, 20-24), in order to explain the relationship of Rebekah, who was a granddaughter of Nahor. The story brings out the divine guidance by signs. Abraham's servant believes that God will select a wife for Isaac, and so the damsel who gives him drink and offers to draw water for his camels too, shall be the appointed one; certainly the sign may have been chosen to make sure of finding an industrious woman, such as is idealized in Prov. xxxi.

Abraham's story closes with an account of the children borne by Keturah, of his death, and burial by the side of Sarah, in the only piece of land he had owned (xxv, 1-11). Finally there is appended an account of the descendants of Ishmael (xxv, 12-18).

2. *Isaac* (xxv, 19-xxvii, 45).—Rebekah, like Sarah, proved to be barren, but she conceived in response to Isaac's prayer, and bore the warring twins, Jacob and Esau, the founders of the ever-warring nations, the Israelites and the Edomites. Jacob became a herds-

man and the favorite of his mother, while Esau turned to the chase and won the love of his father by the savory venison with which he supplied him. The uncertainty of a living by the bow leads to Esau's suffering from hunger, Jacob only relieving him at the price of the coveted birthright (xxv, 27-34), and revealing while young his oft-shown cleverness in driving a hard bargain.

In c. xxvi we find two parallels with the story of Abraham, both concerned with Abimelech the Philistine king. One is the misrepresentation about Rebekah (vv. 1-11), the other the strife about the wells (vv. 12-33; cf. xxi, 22-34). There is a note from P, telling how Esau married Hittite wives to the sore distress of his parents (vv. 34 f.). Then we have the long story from J in which Rebekah aids Jacob in tricking his father and so winning from him the greater blessing intended for Esau, and thus apparently confirming the purchase of the birthright (xxvii, 1-40). This treachery aroused the wrath of Esau and he resolved to slay his brother as soon as his father died. Jacob was saved by his mother who planned to get him out of danger by sending him to her own people (xxvii, 41-46). In this line the interest of the story now lies. As a matter of fact we note that the history of Isaac himself is comparatively brief.

3. *Jacob* (xxvii, 46-xxxvii, 1).—The ground for Rebekah's plea that Isaac shall send Jacob away is to prevent his following Esau's example in marrying a for-

eigner (xxvii, 46 ff.; cf. xxvi, 34 f.). Esau seeing the displeasure of his father on account of his Hittite wives, proceeded to right the wrong by taking to wife a daughter of Ishmael (xxviii, 6-9). Jacob starts from Beersheba, and travels as far as Bethel where there comes in the night the dream of the ladder reaching from earth to heaven, according to E (xxviii, 11 f.), but a theophany in which Jahveh renews to him the promise to Abraham, according to J (xxviii, 13 ff.). Jacob reaches Haran, the home of his mother's people, and by chance meets Rachel the daughter of Laban (xxix, 1-14 J). Then in E we have the story of Laban's tricking Jacob by substituting Leah for Rachel, Laban's object being to secure another seven years' service from one who had proved to be an expert herdsman (xxix, 15-30). While Rachel the loved one was barren, Leah the blear-eyed bore Jacob four sons, Reuben, Simeon, Levi and Judah (xxix, 31-35 J). The rival sisters now gave their handmaids to Jacob, and from Bilhah, Rachel's maid, were born Dan and Naphtali; from Zilpah, Leah's maid, were born Gad and Asher. Then with the aid of the mandrakes, Leah herself bore two more sons, Issachar and Zebulum, and Rachel bore Joseph (xxx, 1-24 E and J).

Jacob was now resolved to return to Canaan, but as Laban was unwillng to have him go, a new agreement was made, according to which Jacob was to have all speckled and spotted and black animals among the flocks and Laban to have all the rest. This plan looked like a good proposition to Laban, but it

proved to be a good one for Jacob, as all the best animals now became speckled and spotted. The reason for this is supernatural according to E (xxxi, 7 ff.), but according to J was due to a knowledge of breeding, remarkable in that age, by which colors could be produced at will (xxx, 37-43).

While Laban was engaged in sheep-shearing, Jacob took his family and possessions and started for Canaan, Rachel stealing her father's teraphim. The story of Laban's pursuit, his warning in a dream not to molest Jacob and of the covenant between the two parties (xxxi, 22-xxxii, 2) is from E, except that there is a duplicate of the argeement from J. As Jacob approaches Canaan the fear of Esau's vengeance possesses him and he prepares on the one hand to conciliate him with presents and on the other hand to divide his flock so that all may not be lost (xxxii, 3-21). In the night the angel visits him, from whom he forces a blessing, as a good omen anent Esau, and by whom his name is changed to Israel (xxxii, 22-32). When Jacob meets Esau he discovers that his fears were groundless, although the account is full of Jacob's suspicions of his brother's good intentions, so that Jacob insists upon his taking a handsome present, makes excuses not to proceed in company with Esau and refuses the guard which Esau proposed to leave with him. Jacob then went on his way to Shechem (xxxiii).

The story of the rape of Dinah, Leah's daughter, by Shechem, the son of Hamor, is made up of alternate

small sections from J and P (c. xxxiv). There is this difference though, that in P all of Jacob's sons avenge the wrong of their sister and apparently with Jacob's approval, while in J the Shechemites are slain by Simeon and Levi, two of Leah's sons, who thus, or in some other way, attained a reputation as fierce warriors (xlix, 5-7), and their deed was condemned by the unwarlike patriarch, who cared more for his property than for family honor.

The place of that story in the history of Jacob is shown in c. xxxv. The danger from the Shechemites leads to Jacob's move to Bethel, where he had received his first revelation (xxviii, 10 ff.). We have then P's version (xxxv, 9 ff.), in which the revelation comes to him at this period, and God now changes his name to Israel (cf. J, xxxii, 28). At Bethel Rachel died in giving birth to Benjamin, and her body was carried to Bethlehem for burial (xxxv, 16 ff.). Jacob then goes to Hebron, where Isaac died.

The P source contains a full genealogy of Esau, c. xxxvi being devoted wholly to that subject. In this version it is said that Esau left Jacob, as Abraham left Lot (xiii, 6), because the land was not able to support the combined herds of the two brothers. There is a section giving the genealogy of Seir, probably the original people of Edom, gradually absorbed into the descendants of Esau. There is a list of the chiefs of Esau (vv. 15-19, 44-43), and of the kings of Edom who ruled before the time of Saul (vv. 31-39). This chapter, therefore, could not be as early as Moses.

4. *Joseph* (xxxvii,2-l).—The history of one of Jacob's sons is singled out and told at great length. One obvious reason for this is the place the life of Joseph has in the fortunes of his family; but another is the predominance of the Joseph tribe in the time of the settlement of Canaan. The earliest source for the conquest, Judges i, really knows of but two important tribes,—Judah and Joseph,—and the latter is far the stronger, advancing into the very heart of Canaan, while Judah hovered around the more unsettled parts in the south.

The story of Joseph is told by long excerpts from E and J, P occurring but rarely. It appears that P had but little of this part of the history. As he lived in the post-exilic age, when the northern tribes no longer existed as a part of the Jewish people, he would naturally not dilate much on the tribe which was peculiarly the representative of the north. There is ample compensation, however, in the preservation of some of the most touching stories in the whole Bible. Certainly J and E realized the rich mines the life of Joseph offered, and they have made good use of their material.

The narrative opens with Joseph as a young lad, the favorite of his father, because he was the son of the beloved Rachel. The enmity of the mothers showed in the children, and thus the way was prepared for the other sons to lift their hands against Joseph the moment they caught him away from his father's protection. There are radical differences

between E and J in regard to the disposal of Joseph. According to E, Reuben persuaded his brothers not to slay Joseph, but to cast him into an empty pit, that he might die there, but secretly intending to rescue him and send him safely home. While the shepherds were away from the pit, a caravan of Midianite merchants came by, and happening to see the boy in his plight, probably attracted by his cries, drew him out and carried him to Egypt and sold him as a slave to an officer of Pharaoh. Reuben was greatly distressed when, upon going alone to the pit, he discovered that Joseph was gone (xxxvii, 19 f., 22-24, 28*a*c, 29 f., 36). In J Reuben (or Judah) rescues Joseph from his brothers who were ready to slay him. While the shepherds were eating, a caravan of Ishmaelites came along and at Judah's suggestion Joseph was sold to the Ishmaelites, Reuben certainly being a party to the sale (xxxvii, 12-18, 21, 25-27, 28*b* 31-35). The pit is wholly in E's version, and the sale in J's. In both accounts Reuben[4] saves the lad's life, and Joseph is sold into slavery in Egypt.

There is a digression, so far as the story of Joseph is concerned, to bring in the rather broad story of Judah and Tamar (c. xxxviii). As this account is wholly from the Judaic source, it is evident that these prophetic historians were no special pleaders. The object

[4] It is contended that in v. 21 we should read *Judah* in place of *Reuben*. As Judah was the leader in v. 26, the emendation seems probable.

of the story is to emphasize the duty of levirate marriage, a man being bound to marry his brother's widow if he had died and left no children (Deut. xxv, 5 f.). But the story has other bearings in that Judah is isolated from the other sons, and the family receives mixture from a Canaanite source.

The story proceeds with the life of Joseph, telling how his master's wife tried to seduce him, and failing in that accused him of her own sin so that he was put in prison, and how in the prison he interpreted the dreams of his fellow prisoners, how that led to his being called in to interpret Pharaoh's dreams, and so he rose to be the king's chief minister (cc. xxxix-xli).

Then we get back to the land of Canaan, suffering again in a general famine. Jacob sends his ten sons to Egypt to buy the much-needed corn. Joseph forces the presence of Benjamin, and then by a trick arranges to keep him in Egypt. Judah's plea (in J) moves Joseph to disclose his identity, and so Jacob with all his family is brought to Egypt and they take up their abode in the land of Goshen (xlii-xlvii). The blessing of Joseph's sons, Ephraim and Manasseh (c. xlviii), is intended to bring the sons of Joseph by an Egyptian wife into membership with the family of Jacob, and to forecast the supremacy of the younger Ephraim over the older Manasseh.

The blessing of Jacob (xlix, 2-27) is an account of the characteristics and fortunes of each of Jacob's twelve sons. As the poem is incorporated in J, it is certainly early. It is not, however, a composition of the patri-

arch, for it really pictures the fortunes of the twelve tribes after they had long been settled in the land of Canaan. For the evidence to support this view, Skinner's work may be consulted (*Int. Crit. Comm.*)

The book of Genesis closes with Jacob's charge to his sons to bury him in the family cemetery, "in the field of Ephron the Hittite," and his death and burial according to his directions (xlix, 28-l, 14). The brothers now fear that Joseph may avenge the wrong done to him, but he reassures them and exacts an oath that they will bury his bones in the land of Canaan (l, 15-26).

The literary character of the patriarchal narrative.—It is acknowledged by all scholars now that there is no historical material in cc. i-xi, that that part of the book of Genesis is an attempt in a series of stories to account for the origin of Abraham, the ancestor of the Hebrews. For the whole narrative leads up to him. The rest of the book has been looked upon as authentic history. Many scholars now regard the whole book as a unit in that the whole is an invention, the patriarchal stories having as their purpose the explanation of the actual condition and relation of the tribes in historic times, so that the Blessing of Jacob (xlix, 2-27) is a sort of condensation of the whole.

In this interpretation certain sons are derived from a concubinate origin, Dan and Naphtali, Gad and Asher, because these tribes were of little importance in the affairs of Israel. Jacob accepts the sons of Joseph, because, as a matter of fact, Ephriam and Manasseh gradually displaced the old and powerful tribe of Joseph. Again, the tribe of Judah was never closely associated with the other tribes, and its people were composed of diverse elements, and that is accounted for by the strange tale of Judah and Tamar (c. xxxviii). A full exposition of this theory may be found in Paton's *Syria and Palestine*, and in Skinner, *Int. Crit. Comm.*

It may well be that the truth lies between the two contentions. One must admit an appearance of a purpose in many of the stories. On the other hand, the tribes of Israel do appear to have entered Canaan from Egypt, and the legends of the patriarchs may be in substance a true account of their presence in that land. I confess that I find it difficult either to accept every tale as it stands, or to reject the whole as stories having no basis in fact.

Exodus

Our name for the book comes from the Greek, and the title is chosen in view of the most important event described in the book. The Hebrews named it in their usual fashion from its opening words, usually abbreviated to *Shemoth*, i.e. *names*.

The history is taken up where it is left off in Genesis, except that, as often in a play an interval of time elapses between the acts, so a considerable period passes by in the space between Joseph and Moses. For the purpose of study it is convenient to divide the book, as Driver does, into three main sections:—

1. *The reduction of the Israelites to slavery and the preparation to escape* (i-xi).—The book opens with a short section from P (i,1-5,7), giving the names of the sons of Jacob, but in a peculiar order, first the six sons of Leah, then the son of Rachel, Joseph being already in Egypt, and finally the sons of the concubines. It is further stated that the whole body which took up its abode in Egypt consisted of seventy persons, but that the family multiplied with exceeding celerity. The conditions described here evidently

presuppose a long interval of time, for Pharaoh says "the sons of Israel are more and mightier than we" (i, 9 J).

A new king was on the Egyptian throne who disregarded the great service Joseph had rendered to the kingdom, and who now made various unsuccessful attemps to check the rapid increase in numbers. The first attempt was by imposing heavy service upon the Israelites (i, 8-14). When this method failed, orders were given to the midwives to take measures so that all male children should be born dead. It was the fear of God that constrained the midwives to disregard this order (i, 15-22). The king was now desperate, and issued orders that every male child should be thrown into the Nile, and this order results in the bringing to his own court of the greatest of all the Hebrews (i, 22-ii, 10). Even though this story comes from E, stress is laid upon the fact that both the parents of Moses were of the tribe of Levi (ii, 1).

Few lives reveal so strikingly the wonderful course of God's providence as that of Moses. From his birth to his death, he seems to have been at times the sport of fate, and yet a closer study shows that a wonderful providence was in it all. When he was left on the Nile, the chances were largely in favor of a speedy death; but providence led him to the Egyptian court. When he slew an Egyptian (ii, 12) fate would decree a quick end of his career; providence ordained it as the casting of his own fortunes with those of his lowly brethren. When he was compelled

to flee to Midian, it might seem that his career as a Hebrew was ended; providence saw that he was learning the secrets of the nomadic desert life where he would wander so many years leading the tribes of Israel as he had formerly led Jethro's flocks.

These stories reveal the character and spirit of the great leader. We note his strong sense of justice that was not merely a fine sentiment, but a motive for action, even when the action was dangerous. Thus he slew the Egyptian who was smiting a Hebrew slave (ii, 12); he rebuked an Israelite who wronged one of his brethren (ii, 13); and still more, he drove back the shepherds who watered their flocks from the water drawn by women (ii, 17). Moses was a worthy foundation-stone for the church militant.

Meanwhile the oppression is grinding hard upon the Hebrews (ii, 23-25), but God is not unmindful of their sufferings, and their distress has reached the point where they may be led to desperate action. In alternate sections of J and E, we are told of the revelation to Moses at Horeb, in which the name Jahveh is revealed (iii, 14 E), and Moses is given signs by which to prove to the Hebrews that he speaks with the authority of God (iv, 1-16 J). According to E the signs were to be used to persuade Pharaoh (iv, 17-21).

Aaron, who was to be affiliated with Moses as his spokesman, meets him on his return to Egypt. They gather the elders of the Hebrews and enthuse them with the story of God's promise of success. Alas!

the answer of Pharaoh to their plea for a three-days' sojourn in the wilderness is the order to make bricks without straw. The result was the beginning of a long series of reproaches which Moses must bear (v, 19-vi, 1), the same kind that any great leader must meet as the price of doing anything for his people.

There follows a long parallel section from P (vi, 2-vii, 13), which completely duplicates the preceding story of God's directions to Moses and Aaron. There is imbedded a genealogical section, apparently having originally the heads of all the tribal clans, but only those of Reuben, Simeon and Levi are preserved (vi, 14-25). From the way Moses and Aaron are described (vi, 26 f.), it is plain that Moses could not be the author, and that the writing was done long after his day.

In cc. vii-xi we have the story of the plagues, the means by which Moses (or in P, Moses and Aaron) secure the release of the Israelites. The plagues served a double purpose. On the one hand they were signs whose object was to prove that Moses was acting under divine direction. The theory is that Pharaoh would grant the request of the Hebrews, once he were persuaded that it was really God's will. It is on this account that the Egyptian magicians are brought into the story; if they can do the same things that Moses and Aaron do, it will weaken any peculiar claim from the signs. Curiously all these contests are recorded in P only (vii, 11 f., 22-viii, 7, 18; ix, 11). The magicians failed in their efforts to produce the lice, and they were so discomfitted by

the boils that they actually became victims of this plague (ix, 11).

On the other hand, the signs were of such a character as to strike terror into the heart of the Egyptians, as the ark of Jahveh struck terror to the heart of the Philistines in the later days (1 Sam. v). The Egyptians suffered such disaster that they were constrained to beg the king to send the plague producers from their land (x, 7). In harmony with this idea it is stated that the Hebrews were exempt from some of the plagues,—flies, murrain, hail, dakness and death of the first-born.

There is a record of twelve plagues in all. There is but one recorded from all three sources, that of turning the water into blood (vii, 14-18, J; vii, 20*b*-21, E; vii, 19 f., P); and here there is a difference in that in J and E only the water of the Nile becomes blood, while in P apparently that fate happens to all the water in the land. Three plagues are described in two sources: the frogs in J (viii, 1-4) and in P (viii, 5-7); the hail is in J (ix, 13-21, 24-34) and in E (ix 22 f., 35); the locusts appear in the same two sources, J, x, 1-7, 14-19; E, x, 8-13. Two are in J only, the flies (viii, 20-32) and the murrain on the cattle (ix, 1-7). One is found in E only, viz., the darkness (x, 21-27), and one in P only, viz., the lice (viii, 16-19). To sum up in another way, and leaving out the death of the first-born, which is closely associated with the Passover, six plagues are recored in J, four each in E and P.

Pharaoh's obstinate refusal to heed a request backed up with so much power is explained from two quite divergent points of view. It has a theological explanation in the oft-repeated statement that God hardened the king's heart, so that he would not release his slaves. Here we have the curious idea that God made a demand upon a person and at the same time made it impossible for him to comply with the demand. There is quite a different view running through the story. The start of it is the request, veiling the real purpose, for permission to make a three-days' journey into the wilderness in order to worship their God (v, 3; cf. vii, 16; viii, 27, all J). The king evidently suspects the real design, for at various stages of the plagues he temporizes, proposing that the people shall offer their sacrifices in the land of Goshen (viii, 25, J); in another case he offers to let the men go, provided the women and children remain behind as security (x, 8-11, E); or that they will leave their cattle behind (x, 24 ff., E). Moses refuses all these compromises, but never once does he declare frankly that the only terms he will accept is an unconditional release, but always makes an excuse to show that Pharaoh's plan will not do. In rejecting the proposal to sacrifice in Egypt, he repeats the plea for a three-days' journey into the wilderness.

In E and J there is a rather unfortunate record of the borrowing of treasures from their Egyptian neighbors on the eve of their departure, and the express statement that Jahveh gave them favor in the sight of

their neighbors so that they loaned freely of their jewels of silver and gold (iii, 22; xi, 2 f.; xii, 35 f.).

2. *From Egypt to Sinai* (xii-xix, 2).—Two great feasts are associated with the departure from Egypt, the Passover and the Unleavened Bread. The portion from P in cc. xii and xiii contains little else. The method of observing the Passover is prescribed in xii, 1-14, 40-51, and Unleavened Bread in xii, 15-20. In JE there is a complete duplication, though this source connects the feasts more closely with the escape from Egypt; greater stress is laid upon the connection of the Passover with the death of the first-born (xii, 21 ff.), and the Unleavened Bread is interpreted as due to the haste of the departure (xii, 34), the dedication of the firstlings is also traced to the preservation of the first-born of the Hebrews at this time of disaster to the Egyptians. Both sources have brief notes of the beginning of the journey from Egypt: P, xii, 37; xiii, 20; JE, xii, 38; xiii, 17-19.

The next chapters (xiv and xv) describe the most memorable event in Hebrew history,—the safe passage of the Red Sea and the disaster to the Egyptian army in that same body of water. There is considerable difference in the point of view of the two main sources. In P, Jahveh directs the Hebrews to get into an apparently bad position so as to tempt Pharaoh to pursue them and thus provide the setting for a demonstration of divine power (xiv, 1-4, 8 f.). The waters of the sea were controlled by Moses' rod (xiv, 15-18, 21*a*,

22 f., 26, 28 f.). In J, Pharaoh repented his leniency and started out to recover his escaped slaves, and the cornered Hebrews were in great terror (xiv, 5-7, 11-14). The waters were removed from the arm of the sea by a strong east wind (xiv, 21). In E it is noticeable that the Hebrews were protected by "an angel of God" (xiv, 19*a*), while in J the safety lies in the pillar of cloud (xiv, 19*b*, 20). In both sources the overwhelming disaster befalls the pursuring army of Egypt, though there is considerable amplification in J, who says that Jahveh took off the wheels of the Egyptian chariots (xiv, 25).

The earliest information is preserved in E, who has saved the Song of the Sea (xv, 1-18). In this poem we find the source of J's idea that the wind saved the Hebrews (v. 10). It is commonly held that the poem has been amplified in the latter part, especially vv. 13-18. But the body of the poem seems to be early and to belong to the collections of poems which preceded the prose narratives of the Bible. The poem in its earliest form covers all the vital points of the later prose stories. The deliverance of the Hebrews and the overthrow of the Egyptians at the Red Sea seem to be historic facts which cannot be questioned.

From cc. xiv, 22-xix, 2, the narrative describes the movements of the Hebrews as they journeyed from the Red Sea until they reach Sinai. Troubles come upon the people quickly as they enter the desert, in which at first they can find no water, and when they do discover some, find that it is not fit to drink (xiv,

22-27). At Elim there was plenty of water, but when they entered the wilderness of Sin, their provisions were exhausted and the people complained because of their hunger. Then it was that the *manna* was given; according to P, *manna* and quails, too (xvi, 13). At Rephidim no water was found, and the people were ready to stone their leader, but by divine direction he saved the situation by bringing water from the rock (xvii, 1-7). Then a new trouble arises. The tibe of Amalek disputed the rights to the deserts and the Hebrews were obliged to fight for existence. This story is interesting because it introduces one of the important characters of the early history, Joshua, the son of Nun, who became the military leader of his people. It appears that the victory was due as much to Moses' prayers as to Joshua's sword (xvii, 8-16).

The Hebrews had reached the region where Moses had lived during his enforced exile, and Jethro comes to visit his son-in-law. It was at this time that Jethro advised Moses to develop the organization of the tribes by the appointment of subordinate judges (xviii). The P source now describes the arrival of the Hebrews at Sinai, in the third month after the departure from Egypt (xix, 1 f.). All the rest of the book of Exodus is occupied with the events that took place at Sinai.

3. *At Mount Sinai* (xix, 3-xl).—The chief events are the giving of the law, the construction of the tabernacle, and the making of the golden calf.

The section dealing with the giving of the code of laws (ixx, 3-xxiv) is all from J and E except xxiv, 15-18*a*. From E we have the account of the covenant by which the Hebrews agreed to obey the words spoken by God to Moses (xix, 3-25), and the Decalogue (xx, 1-17). The code of the covenant is preserved solidly in J. Some notes on the Decalogue will appear in connection with our study of Deuteronomy; here we must glance at the earliest code of laws in Hebrew history. These laws are given to Moses from Jahveh. In a sort of preliminary notice, the making of images is forbidden, and it is ordained that altars shall usually be of earth; but if stone is employed it must be laid up of rough stones (xx, 22-26). This law presupposes an unsettled life, altars of a temporary character being built wherever the people happen to be.

The subject covered first in the code is slavery, the object being to prevent the involuntary perpetual servitude of any Hebrew (xxi, 1-11). There are regulations to cover various injuries to people, from murder to slight bodily harm by men or by cattle (xxi, 12-32). The next subject covered by a series of laws is the protection of personal property (xxi, 32-xxii, 17). Cattle loom large in this section, but agriculture is presupposed also (v. 6). A sorceress was not permitted to live (xxii, 18). Sacrifice to any god but Jahveh is forbidden (v. 20). The social relations were looked after, strangers, widows and children must not be oppressed (vv. 21-24); interest must not be col-

lected from the poor (vv. 25-27); even the stray cattle of an enemy must be returned to him (xxiii, 4 f.). In this early code the seventh year was to be a period of rest of the land (xxiii, 10 f.), and the Sabbath is to be a day of rest (xxiii, 12).

Religious regulations are found. Offerings must be made (xxii, 29 f.; xxiii, 18 f.); three annual festivals are ordained,— Unleavened Bread, Harvest, and Ingathering (xxiii, 14-17). Following the laws there is J's account of the covenant by which the people agreed to observe them (xxiv, 3 ff.).

There follows a very long section from P (xxv-xxxi [except xxxi, 18*b*]). Moses had gone up to the top of Mount Sinai and was covered by the cloud which symbolized the presence of Jahveh (xxiv, 15-18*a*). Jahveh then revealed to Moses directions concerning the tabernacle, which was to be the travelling temple for the people. The narrative goes into the minute details characteristic of an architect's specifications. There are, however, many subjects covered. The people are to make offerings so as to provide raw material. The ark is described, the mercy seat and the cherubim which guard it; the table for the shew-bread, with dishes, spoons, flagons and bowls, the golden candlestick, are planned (xxv). Then we come to the specifications for the tabernacle itself (xxvi); the altar upon which burnt-offerings are to be made, constructed of acacia wood and overlaid with brass, and the court and the perpetually burning lamp are described (xxvii). Then we come to Aaron and his

sons who are to minister in the sanctuary. Minute directions are given for the garments they are to wear (xxviii), and for the method of their consecration, and for the offerings to be made each day (xxix). Then we come to the altar of incense, built of acacia wood overlaid with gold; the half-shekel tax imposed upon every adult male as atonement money; the brazen laver for the priests' ablutions; the holy oil for anointing the tent, all of the contents of the tent and the priests who minister therein (xxx). Then two men are chosen, Bezaleel of Judah and Aholiab of Dan, to make all the articles as specified (xxxi, 1-11). Finally the law of the Sabbath is ordained, with the penalty of death for its violation (xxxi, 12-17).

There follows a considerable section from JE (xxxii, 18*b*-xxxiv, 28), describing the rebellion of the people and the setting up of the golden calf. It is interesting to note that Aaron becomes the leader of the rebels and the priest of the cult of the golden calf; while at the tent of meeting, which is a sanctuary, too, Joshua is the minister; and that Joshua also accompanies Moses while he receives his visions on the mount. The people are saved by the intercession of Moses, and the section closes with a code of laws (xxxiv, 11 ff.), E's parallel to J in xxi-xxiii, and so called *the little code of the covenant.*

The remainder of Exodus (xxxiv, 29-xl) is another long, solid section from P. This passage is the sequel to xxv-xxxi, and was in the original P directly connected therewith. Moses comes down from the

holy mount with a glow on his face, and speaks to all Israel assembled for the purpose, giving the law of the Sabbath, and calling upon them all to make offerings, and "the wise-hearted" to manufacture the tabernacle and its equipment (xxxiv, 29 - xxxv, 19). The people depart to fetch the articles required (xxxv, 20-29). Then Moses called upon Bezaleel and Aholiab and every wise-hearted person to take up the work of construction, the people continuing to bring in material until they are enjoined to stop (xxxv, 30-xxxvi, 7). Now we come to a long passage which is largely a repetition (xxxvi, 8 - xxxix, 31), for it describes the tabernacle and all its appurtenances as they were made in the same terms as used in the specifications. There is a statement giving the amount of gold and silver and brass presented by the people (xxxviii, 24-31). When all the work was completed, it was brought to Moses for inspection, and he found that everything had been done according to the specifications (xxxix, 32-43).

In c. xl there is a further revelation to Moses, directing him to set up the tabernacle and put all of its equipment in its proper place, each article being anointed with the holy oil, and to wash and clothe Aaron and his sons that they might be set apart to minister in the tabernacle (vv. 1-15). Moses carries out all these instructions, the tabernacle being reared at the beginning of the second year of their departure from Egypt (vv. 16-33). The cloud covered the tent of meeting, as it is now called, so that Moses dare not

enter. This cloud was the symbol of the divine presence, and became the guide for the journeys of the tribes (vv. 34-38).

Leviticus

The title comes from the Septuagint, and is derived from Levite. This is the Levitical book, the book which gives directions to the Levitical order, including the priests, for the performance of their duties. The Hebrew name is *wayyikra*, "and he called," which happens to be the first word.

This book belongs wholly to the P document, and is entirely made up of laws. There is a large section of the book (cc. xvii-xxvi) which is generally recognized as an incorporation in P, but it is nevertheless from another priestly source.

The place of Leviticus in the Pentateuch shows the perfect system of the arrangement. Exodus carries the history to the arrival at Sinai and the building of the tabernacle. Leviticus contains the laws supposed to have been given at Sinai. For purposes of study it is convenient to divide it into three parts.

1. *The laws of sacrifice, purification, and atonement* (i-xvi).—(a) The laws governing sacrifices are contained in i, 1-vi, 7. It is noteworthy that now the revelation comes to Moses in the tent of meeting (i, 1), and not on the sacred mountain as heretofore. The sacrifice which stands first is the burnt-offering, which may be of the herd (i, 3-9), of the flock of sheep or goats (i, 10-13), or of birds (i, 14-17). In

each case specific directions are given the priests for their guidance in making the offering, even to the place where each variety is to be killed. Next to this comes the meal-offering, of vegetables of different kinds (c. ii). The flour may be presented raw or cooked in some way. A part of this sacrifice was burnt on the fire, but a part was the property of the priests.

The laws governing peace-offerings (c. iii) provided only for animals of the herd or flocks. But while for burnt-offerings only males were accepted, in peace-offerings either males or females could be used; but in all cases it is ordered that the animals shall be without blemish. Another difference is that in the case of the burnt-offering the whole animal was burned, while in the case of the peace-offering only the fat was consumed. In all cases the blood was carefully drained out; in this connection the general law is ordained, "ye shall eat neither fat nor blood" (v. 17).

The sin-offering is regulated in c. iv. Provision is only made for those who sin unintentionally. The laws cover the sins of a chief priest (vv. 3-12), the whole congregation (vv. 13-21), a ruler (vv. 22-26), an ordinary individual (vv. 27-35). In the first two cases a bullock must be offered, in the last two a goat, or in the last case a lamb. The ruler must offer a male, but a female sufficed for the common man. The animals were sacrificed in the same manner as the peace-offerings. Specimens of the unintentional sins are given in v. 14, and then provision is made

for the poor, allowing birds or even flour as a sin-offering in place of the goat or lamb (v. 5-13; cf. the offering of the Virgin Mary, St. Luke ii, 24).

The fifth kind of sacrifice is the trespass or guilt-offering (v, 14; vi, 7). This offering is to atone for unwitting sins "in the holy things of Jahveh," a term conceived to be broad enough to cover wrongs done to a neighbor (vi, 2-5). Any violation of the law of God required a trespass-offering, and the guilty person was required to make restitution, adding a fifth thereto, and making the offering besides. The trespass-offering was in every case a ram without blemish.

In this section we note that in ii, 4-16 the second person is used, in vv. 11 f. the plural, otherwise the singular. This peculiarity suggests the probability that the passage is from another source and incorporated bodily in P.

It is clear, further, that the distinction between a sin-offering and a trespass-offering is not always heeded. In v, 17-19 the trespass-offering is prescribed for exactly the same cases as the sin-offering in c. iv. Though the term "trespass-offering" occurs in v. 6, the passage seems clearly to be supplementary to the law of sin-offerings, the trespass-offering being formally presented in v. 14 f. The laws were not all formulated at once, but represent the growth of centuries, and probably much had to be left to the interpretation of the priests.

(b) A manual of directions for the priests (vi, 8-vii). This section gives more specific rules for the various kinds of sacrifices, and states in each case the share falling to the officiating priests. The laws controlling the burnt-offering are given in vi, 8-13, those for the meal-offering in vi, 14-18, those for the sin-offering in vi, 24-30, those for the trespass-offering in vii, 17,

while the peace-offering is covered in vii, 11-21, 28-34. In addition, there are regulations governing the daily meal-offering of the chief priest (vi, 19-23), the prohibtion of eating either the fat or the blood (vii, 22-27). There are two subscriptions to the manual, one indicating that the above laws were issued to regulate the priests' share in the sacrifices (vii, 35 f.), the other being quite general (vii, 37 f.), naming the five kinds of sacrifice, and adding "consecration," a subject not included in the manual. We note that in this subscription and in the manual the peace-offerings are named last of the five, whereas they are third in i-vi, 7. The manual evidently is an independent body of laws.

(c) The consecration of the priests (viii-x). Moses is now the officiaiting priest, and he consecrates Aaron and his sons (c. viii) according to the rules laid down for him in the manual (Ex. xxix, 1-37). Then the consecrated priests enter upon their office, making sacrifices for themselves and for the people as Moses directed (c. ix). The title of the Aaronic priesthood is now confirmed by the descent of fire from Jahveh, consuming the animal upon the altar (ix, 24; cf. 1 Ki. xviii, 38). Trouble quickly arises in the newly ordained priesthood. Nadab and Abihu, two of the sons of Aaron who had been with Moses on the holy mount, offered strange fire in their censers,—that is, a fire unknown to the law. For their trespass they were at once slain by fire from Jahveh (cf. 2 Ki. ii, 10 ff.). Moses directed their relatives to drag

their bodies out of the camp, and forbade Aaron and his family to show any signs of mourning for the culprits (x, 17). Jahveh now speaks directly to Aaron, and as his message forbids the priests to drink wine while on duty (x, 8-11), it may be that the offense of Nadab and Abihu was due to strong drink.

Moses then gives directions about the share of the offerings which belong to the priests and tells them how they are to be disposed of (x, 12-15). It appears that the surviving sons of Aaron, Eleazer and Ithamar, have burnt the whole of a goat sacrificed as a sin-offering instead of eating a portion of it in the sanctuary. In reply to Moses' reproof, Aaron pleads that his sons have offered their own sin-offerings, in view of the blow which had befallen the office and the family, and therefore could not eat of the offering. With this explanation Moses is content, and a modification of the law of the sin-offering is allowed (x, 16-20).

(d) The laws of purification (xi-xv). Pure food laws are by no means modern. The Hebrews recognized a distinction among animals in that some are unfit for food, and so were put under a religious ban, being declared unclean. In some cases the distinction is made by a general principle. Among quadrupeds those which both divided the hoof and chewed the cud were clean and all others prohibited (xi, 2-8). Of the fish, those were permitted for food which had both scales and fins (vv. 9-12). Of birds a general rule could not be laid down, so that a list of the unclean is given (vv. 13-19). The fourth class covers

flying insects (vv. 20-23). The general rule is that all of this class that have four feet are unclean, though certain exceptions are made. Finally there are the reptiles and creeping insects (vv. 41-43).

The law concerning clean and unclean animals is found in an earlier code (Deut. xiv, 4-20), and in such similar language that idenity of origin is certain (cf. Driver, *Deut.* clvii-clix). The priest code often incorporates earlier laws, though usually, as here, with a good deal of modification. In the midst of this law is a section dealing with the uncleanness which falls upon man by contact with the carcases of animals (vv. 24-40). Driver holds that this is a later insertion. Certainly the subscription (vv. 46 f.) relates only to the clean and unclean animals. But the passage about defilement is the only part of this section which makes it appropriate in the code of purification, and it may rather be that vv. 24-40, are the original and the rest an addition.

The law for purification after childbirth is stated in c. xii. In case the child was a female, the time of impurity required was double. The end of the period was marked by a sacrifice, the value of the animal being determined by the means of the mother (cf. St. Luke ii, 24). It is rather strange that this chapter does not follow c. xv, where it would be more appropriate, and in v. 5 we have an obvious reference to menstrual impurity.

The important subject of the regulation of leprosy is covered in cc. xiii, xiv. The matter is entirely in the hands of the priests, but very elaborate and scientific rules are laid down for the diagnosis of the disease (xiii, 1-46). The presence of this disease entailed frightful hardship upon the sufferer, and so

great pains were taken to make a correct diagnosis. As the contagious character of the plague is recognized, a person under suspicion was isolated until the condition was clear. Infected garments were to be burned (vv. 47-59).

Most of the lepers died slowly in their exile, but in case of recovery, a most elaborate process of purification was enjoined (xiv, 1-32). Apart from the sacrifices, the hair was twice shaved off completely, so as to run no risk of contagion. Finally, provision is made for leprosy in a house, the infected parts being first removed, and if that fails to eradicate the disease, the house must be destroyed (vv. 33-53). The usual subscription to the whole is found in vv. 54-57; and xiii, 59 is the subscription to xiii, 47-58.

Purification was required after certain secretions: in case of venereal disease in a man (xv, 1-15), emission (vv. 16 f.), copulation (v. 18), menstruation, normal (vv. 19-24), abnormal (vv. 25-31). The subscription follows (vv. 32 f.).

The ritual for the day of atonement is described in c. xvi. There is really another subject woven into the law, viz., the conditions under which the high priest might enter the holy place within the veil (vv. 2-4). By its introduction (v. 1), this passage is closely connceted with c. x and probably once immediately followed it, for cc. xi-xv contsitute a complete section in themselves.

The atonement fell on the tenth day of the seventh month (midwinter), and its purpose was to cleanse the

whole nation from its sins. A very peculiar feature of the ritual was the release of one of the goats, symbolically carrying the sins of the whole people, into the wilderness unto Azazel, which was probably the name of one of the deities of the desert.

2. *The law of Holiness* (xvii-xxvi). This part of the book is so named because of the stress laid upon holiness; it is really a code of ritual purity, though many laws deal with certain social relations, being the chief parallel in P to the code of the Covenant and to the laws of Deuteronomy.

This section contains many features which differentiate it from P, and yet it betrays mainly the priestly spirit and interest. These laws are much closer to Ezekiel's code (xl-xlvii) than those in P proper. As a rule the laws are earlier than P, and this code may have been formulated shortly before the exile. The section has been worked over frequently by a later hand, possibly by P, when incorporated in that code. The subjects covered are very numerous, the laws as a rule being more condensed than in P. It sometimes happens that laws exist here which recur elsewhere in P.

Animals to be eaten must be slain at the central sanctuary (xvii, 1-7; cf. Deut. xii, 15 ff.); sacrifices must be made at the tabernacle (xvii, 8 f.); the eating of the blood is prohibited (vv. 10-14; cf. iii, 17; vii, 26 f.); one who eats an animal that has died naturally or has been torn by beasts is unclean (vv. 15 f.). In

c. xviii we find the note so common in Deuteronomy of separation from the usages of other nations. The law covers unchastity, and especially prohibits marriage with near relatives. Chapter xix contains many brief laws, covering much of the ground of the Decalogue. Here we find the memorable words, "thou shall love thy neighbor as thyself" (v. 18), the general law of which most of the others are specific examples. In c. xx we have a table of penalties to be imposed upon those who violate the laws given above. The punishment is usually death, and the method, when specified, is either stoning (v. 2) or burning (v. 14). There is embodied one of the exhortations, common in the law of Holiness, to obey the law of Jahveh (vv. 22-26).

Laws to govern the lives of the priests are given in cc. xxi, xxii. The rules are specified for the common priests (xxi 1-9), for the high priest (vv. 10-15). A member of the priestly family who had any physical imperfection was allowed to eat of the priests' portion, but was not permitted to exercise the priestly office (vv. 16-24). The holy food was not to be eaten by the priest who was ceremonially unclean (xxii, 1-9), nor by one who was not of the priestly family, including slaves (vv. 10-16). Animals that are blemished may not be offered as sacrifices—except as a free-will-offering, v. 23 — (vv. 17-25). Three rules regarding the offering of animals are specified (vv. 26-30), and then there is the usual exhortation (vv. 31 ff.).

The set feasts to be observed by the Hebrews are

tabulated in c. xxiii. There is the Sabbath (v. 3), the Passover (v. 5), Unleavened Bread (vv. 6-8), First Fruits (vv. 9-14), Feast of Weeks (vv. 15-22), New Year (vv. 23-25), Day of Atonement (vv. 26-32), and the Feast of Booths (vv. 33-36, 39-44). Certain provisions are made for each festival, but the main injunction is to refrain from labor on the feast days.

Chapter xxiv ordains the perpetual light in the tabernacle (vv. 14; v. 2 f., repeating Ex. xxvii, 20 f.); the placing of the shew-bread (vv. 59; cf. Ex. xxv, 30; xl, 23); and describes the origin of the law against blasphemy in the incident of the half-breed (vv. 10-16, 23). There are appended certain laws about injury, including the famous *lex talionis* (vv. 17-22).

Chapter xxv treats of the sabbatical year, when the land was to lie fallow (vv. 1-7, 20-22), and in much fuller terms of the year of jubilee (vv. 8-19, 23-55). The year of jubilee was designed to prevent the perpetual alienation of land and perpetual slavery of Hebrews. The law contains other provisions for the benefit of the impoverished, providing for the redemption of land (vv. 24-28), and of houses (vv. 29-34), and of slaves (vv. 47-55). There is no reference to this law save in P (Lev. xxvii, 17 f.-23 f.; Num. xxxvi, 4), and it is maintained by some that it was only ideal legislation like Ezekiel's. As P refers to it as a well-known institution, and as it occupies such prominence in the Holiness code, it is reasonable to suppose that there must be some reality back of it. The law in parts is different from Deuteronomy, and has been

worked over by later hands; but in substance it is early, and may contain an interesting sample of the land laws of the Israelites. It may be noted that it is said that this law was revealed to Moses on Mt. Sinai, not in the tabernacle (v. 1).

Chapter xxvi contains a brief law against idolatry, and on the Sabbath (vv. 1, 2), but in the main is an exhortation to obey the laws of this code, containing promises of rich blessings if the laws are kept (vv. 3-13), and of dire woes, including exile, if they are disobeyed (vv. 14-45). The chapter concludes with a subscription to the whole code of Holiness (v, 46), saying that the laws were given in Sinai.

3. The concluding portion of the book comprises but a single chapter, xxvii. There are two subjects covered, vows (vv. 1-21), and tithes (vv. 30-33). provision is made for the commutation of vows by a money payment. In the case of persons, the male is valued at practicaly double the female, and the price ranges from fifty shekels for an adult male to three shekels for a female infant. The price varies according to age as well as according to sex. In case of cattle, commutation was allowed only for the unclean. The tithe can be commuted only by adding a fifth to its value. The final verse is the subscription to the whole book or to the Levitical code, excluding cc. xvii-xxvi.

Numbers

Unlike the other four books of the Pentateuch, the book of Numbers has not preserved the Greek title,

but a Latin translation of it. The name comes from the numbering of the Israelites, with which the book opens. The common Hebrew title *bemidhbar* is really more appropriate, as it means "in the desert."

The book of Numbers covers the period of the forty years' wandering in the desert, beginning at Sinai and ending in Moab. The contents are quite miscellaneous and loosely connected so far as subject is concerned. It is convenient to follow Gray (*Int. Crit. Comm.*) and divide the book into three sections, according to the geographical position of the people.

1. *At Sinai* (i-x, 10). This section is wholly from P, from which source about three-fourths of the whole book is taken. This part is closely related to Ex. xix-xl and Leviticus, as we are still dealing with events that befell at Sinai. First a census was ordered of all males over 20 years of age, and so qualified for war. A representative of each tribe joins in the enumeration, and the total of all tribes (exclusive of Levi) is 603,550 (v. 46), naturally an impossibly large figure (see further in Gray, p. 11 ff.). The Levites were excepted because their duties were connected with the tabernacle (vv. 47-54).

The camp is described in c. ii, in which is given the position of the various tribes in the camp. The camp is assumed to be a square. In the center is the tent of meeting surrounded by the Levites; on the east are Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun; on the south Reuben, Gad, and Simeon; on the west Ephraim,

Manasseh, and Benjamin; and on the north Dan, Asher, and Naphtali. It will be noted that the tribes are grouped, as near as may be, by their mothers.

The position and office of the Levites are taken up in cc. iii, iv. The Levites are subordinate to the priests (iii, 1-10), and they are substitutes for the first-born of all the tribes (iii, 11-13). There were 22,000 Levites, and 22,273 of the first-born, and for each one of the 273 in excess of the Levites a redemption of five shekels was paid to the priests (iii, 40-51). The three divisions of the Levites are enumerated, the position in the camp and the duty of each part assigned (iii, 14-33). Considering the large numbers and the small responsibility, this tribe would have had an easy life. Chapter 4 is very diffuse in its description of the duties of the priests and of the three Levitical families, the Kohathites, the Gershonites and the Merarites. The duties named are those involved in the moving of the tabernacle when the people are on the march. There is also a further census of the Levites from 30 to 50 years of age, the period of active service, and the total number is 8,580.

Then we come to a body of laws (cc. v, vi). Certain unclean persons are to be excluded altogether from the camp (v, 1-4). Some dues to the priests are defined (v, 5-10). The law of ordeal to which a suspected wife was subjected is very minutely described in v, 11-31. The main point is the drinking of bitter water under a curse which would make her body swell if guilty, but would have no effect upon the innocent.

This law brings Hebrew usage into close touch with similar laws of ordeal prevalent among most of the half-civilized nations of the world. The law of the Nazarites appears in vi, 1-21, and finally there is the formula for the priestly blessing (vi, 22-27), which has found a place in the American Prayer Book.

The offerings made by the heads of the various tribes are described in vii, 1-88. It is assumed that these were made directly after the erection of the tabernacle (v, 1), and so earlier than cc. i-iv. Yet, at several points, cc. i-iv are presupposed, especially in regard to the use of the wagons by some of the Levites. Moses now receives further revelations through a voice which speaks from above the mercy-seat (vii, 89), giving directions about the lamps of the tabernacle (viii, 1-4), and about the consecration of the Levites (viii, 5-22; in part a repetition of iii, 11-13). The period of service for the Levites is prescribed as from 25 to 50 years of age (viii, 23-26), as against 30 to 50 in iv, 3, 23, 30, an evidence that the laws represent the usage of different periods.

The Passover was celebrated while the people were encamped at Sinai (ix 1-5), but certain unclean persons were barred from the site and they laid their case before Moses (ix, 6-8). By Jahveh's direction Moses orders the "Little Passover" to be kept, in the second month, by those deprived of the first. The date in v, 1 (first month) goes back to a period antecedent to i, 1 (second month), but the main point is the supplementary celebration which did fall in the second

month. In ix, 15-23 are repeated the directions for moving the camp according to the movements of the cloud over the tabernacle (cf. Ex. xl, 34-38). Finally, in x, 1-10, there is an account of the two silver trumpets which were blown by the priests for various signals, among others for the moving of the camp.

In part, cc. i-x, 10 serve as a fitting introduction to what follows: for it is largely devoted to the encampment and to the duties of various tribes when a journey is to be made. From the dates in i, 1 and x, 11 it appears that the period covered in this section is nineteen days.

2. *In the wilderness of Paran* (x, 11-xxi, 9). The journey from Sinai to Paran is described in x, 11-28, the movement being in accordance with the directions previously given. Then we come to a section from JE (x, 29-xii), it being unnecessary and often impossible to separate J from E. Hobab, Moses' brother-in-law, is secured as guide (x, 29-32). In this source the ark of the covenant is prominent, and the ritual for its moving and stopping is described (x, 33-36). The complaints of the people are heard again, some of them being destroyed by the fire of Jahveh at Taberah (xi, 1-3). Then in response to the outcries of the hungry people, weary of manna, a vast number of quails appear, and a plague follows the greedy devouring of their flesh (xi, 4-35). Inwoven is the story of the appointment of seventy elders to form a council for Moses, and the curious episode of the

prophesying of Eldad and Medad, which Joshua regarded as rebellion against his chief.

Aaron and Miriam rebel against Moses on the basis of his marriage to a Cushite, and his assumption of supreme authority (xii 1-3). Miriam alone is punished by the plague of leprosy, which, however, is removed at Moses' intercession (xii, 4-15). In the original form of the story, Miriam alone may have rebelled. The point is the vindication of Moses' supreme and unique position, differentiating him from prophets of the Eldad and Medad type (vv. 6-8). The section closes with a statement of the arrival of the tribes at Paran (v, 16; cf. P x, 12).

There is a composite account of the mission of the spies or scouts in cc. xiii, xiv. It is necessary to analyze here to escape confusion, and then we find that each story is quite complete in itself. P's portion is xiii, 1-17*a*, 21, 25-26*a*, 32*a*; xiv, 1, 2, 5-7, 10, 26-30, 34-38 (Driver). The rest belongs to E. P's story is that twelve chiefs of tribes are sent out from Paran and in the course of forty days they go through the whole land. They bring back an evil report that Canaan was "a land that devoured its inhabitants" (xiii, 32), i.e., is too poor to support its population. The multitude, disheartened by this report, are crying out when two of the scouts, Joshua and Caleb, bring in a minority report that the land is good. The people are so incensed that they are ready to stone the two scouts. Jahveh now speaks to Moses, condemning the people to the forty years' wandering, a

year for a day (xiv, 34). All the scouts except Joshua and Caleb die by the plague. JE differs chiefly in that the scouts start from Kadesh, they explore only the southern part of the country about Hebron, their report about the land is favorable, but the inhabitants they regard as invincible, and Caleb alone encourages the people and is excepted from the general punishment. In JE the repentant people move against Canaan contrary to Moses' advice, and are driven back by the Amalekites (xiv, 39-45).

This incident is important in the history. The Hebrews had travelled from Egypt and had reached the southern borders of the country which was their goal. The natural point from which to make the invasion is that at which they had now arrived. It was evidently Moses' intention to advance directly into Canaan. But it was an unknown land to him or to Hobab his guide. Scouts are sent ahead to explore. Their report, in both versions unfavorable in one way or another, takes the heart out of the people, and makes an immediate invasion impossible. Yet it is not unlikely that Judah, with the help of Caleb's powerful clan, did at some time invade Canaan from the south, for Hebron was one of its earliest possessions.

Another group of laws is collected in c. xv, all from P. Meal-offerings and wine[5] were to accompany burnt sacrifices, the law applying to strangers and natives

[5] The use of wine in the sacrifices shows the later additions to the laws. In the early days the use of wine was disapproved.

alike (vv. 1-6). Provision is made for the heave-offering (vv. 17-21), and for the sin-offering (vv. 22-31; cf. Lev. iv, 13-21). A man is executed for gathering wood on the Sabbath (vv. 32-36). All garments must have tassels as a reminder of the divine commandments (vv. 37-41).

Then we come to the memorable rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram (cc. xvi, xvii). The source is mainly P, but there are fragments of JE (xvi, 1*b*-2*a*, 12-15, 25, 26, 27*b*-34). There is a vast difference among the sources. In JE we are dealing with a rebellion of Dathan and Abiram, two Reubenites, against the supreme authority of Moses. Reuben was Jacob's first-born, and this tribe claims the leadership. The rebels are swallowed up in an earthquake (xvi, 31 f.), striking terror into the hearts of the people (xvi, 34). In P there are two sources. Korah is the sole leader of the rebellion, for Dathan and Abiram are harmonistic additions in xvi, 24, 27, Korah alone being mentioned elsewhere. The rebellion is raised against the exclusive priestly rights of the tribe of Levi, finally established by the budding of Aaron's rod, (c. xvii; cf. vxi, 41-50). In another and later strand of P the rebellion of Korah is raised against the exclusive Aaronic priesthood, the claim being that all Levites are priests (xvi, 10). Korah and his rebellious company are destroyed by fire from Jahveh (xvi, 35).

These stories picture the actual historical development of the Jewish priesthood. At first any person might be a priest, though the Levites were preferred

(cf. Judg. xvii, 13). Then all Levites were priests and no others (so in Deut.). Finally the Levites became subordinate to the priests (in the post-exilic period; cf. Ezr.-Neh.).

The rebellion of Korah prepares the way for the laws in c. xviii (P), defining the respective duties of the priests and Levites (vv. 1-7) and their respective dues, those of the priests (vv. 8-20), those of the Levites (vv. 21-24). Finally there is the requirement that the Levites shall give a tithe of their tithes to the priests (vv. 25-32; cf. Neh. x, 38).

The various ways in which uncleanness is contracted in connection with the dead are described in c. xix (P), and the means of purification by "the water of impurity," made with the ashes of a red heifer (vv. 1-10). It is not difficult to see wise sanitary precautions in this as in many other Hebrew laws.

The narrative is resumed now, and again we have a composite story. The camp moves to Kadesh, south of the Dead Sea, where there is trouble again about water, and where Moses smote the rock instead of speaking to it as commanded (xx, 1-13). Moses and Aaron are condemned, because of unbelief (xx, 12), or because of rebellion according to xx, 24; xxvii, 14, though it is impossible in the sources to tell what their sin was (cf. the account in Deut. iii, 23-28). At Kadesh Miriam died.

The forty years' wandering is now over, though we have no history of that period at all, and Israel now starts to move against Canaan from the east.

Permission to pass through the land of Edom is refused (xx, 14-21 JE). The people reach Mt. Hor, on the Edomite border; there Aaron dies and is succeeded by his son Eleazar (xx, 22-29 P). At Hormah there was a battle with Canaanites in which Israel was victorious (xxi, 1-3). On the long journey around the land of Edom the people suffered from the bites of serpents, from which they are cured by the bronze serpent erected by Moses (xxi, 4-9), and for centuries an object of worship (2 Ki. xviii, 4).

3. *Israel on the east of the Jordan* (xxi, 10-xxxvi). There is first a list of the places passed on the journey (xxi, 10-12), a section in which are two short poems, one from the collecton called *The Wars of Jahveh.* Permission to pass through the land of the Amorites is refused (xxi, 21-23). Going around is not possible, as in the case of Edom, and a battle ensued by which Israel gained possession of the country of Moab, a battle commemorated in the song of Heshbon (vv. 27-30). Og, the king of Bashan, was next encountered, and he was beaten and his territory wrested from him, so that Israel at last has a firm hold in a fertile land (xxi, 33-xxii, 1).

Then we come to the interesting story of Balaam (xxii, 2-xxiv), all from JE, and cf. the sequel in c. xxxi, especially vv. 8, 16. Balak, the king of Moab, feared aggression from the victorious Israelites, and he employed the famous soothsayer Balaam to cripple them with a curse. Balaam comes from Pethor on

the Euphrates, or from the land of the Ammonites (according to an emended text of xxii, 5, on which see Gray, *Int. Crit. Comm.*), but he is a prophet of Jahveh and speaks in his name. In spite of the seer's most heroic efforts, he is in all of his oracles constrained to pronounce only blessings upon Israel and curses upon his enemies.

The story of Balaam is obvious composite, though the analysis is in parts difficult. A single point may be noted. In xx, 20 f. Jahveh gives Balaam permission to heed Balak's invitation and he starts on his journey to Moab accompanied by the princes of Balak. In xx, 22 he is travelling with his own two servants, and as God is angry with him, he must have started contrary to the divine will. The sequel in c. xxxi, according to which Balaam had enticed the Israelites to sin, hoping thus to bring them to destruction by divine judgment, represents a later and independent tradition.

The oracles are a series of early poems, pointing out, as the series rises to a climax, the growing power and greatness of Israel, and the downfall of their foes.

The Moabitish women came near being the undoing of Israel, but the hanging of the offenders saved the day (xxv, 1-5 JE). P contains a parallel story in which Phinehas slays an Israelite and his Midianite partner, and is rewarded with the promise of the priesthood in his family. His act stays a plague which was devastating Israel (xxv, 6-18).

There follows a long section solidly from P, cc.

xxvi-xxxi. Chapter xxvi describes a second census, the results being practically the same as in that made forty years earlier. Stress is laid upon the fact that this was an entirely new generation (v. 64). The laws of inheritance are worked out as the result of an appeal to Moses by the daughters of Zelophehad, it being ordered that in the absence of sons daughters could inherit land (xxvii, 1-11). Moses is then warned of his approaching death, and, following his petition, he is bidden appoint Joshua as his successor (xxvii, 12-23).

In cc. xxviii, xxix there is another list of the sacred seasons, which is an elaboration of the table in Leviticus xxiii. But xxviii, 3-8 is repeated from Exodus xxix, 38-42. The law of vows is found in c. xxx. Any vow that a man makes is binding, but a woman's vow is only binding if it has the sanction of her father, or, in case she is married, of her husband. A war with Midian (c. xxxi; cf. xxv, 16ff.) serves as the basis for the laws for the distribution of booty taken in war.

The last section of the history is contained in c. xxxii, and here JE and P are so entangled that separation is practically impossible. It is noticeable that this story only knows Reuben and Gad as applicants for the land on the east of the Jordan, the half-tribe of Manasseh appearing first in v. 33, a late harmonistic gloss, for here Moses apparently gives the land voluntarily, as in Deut. iii, 12-21. In vv. 39-42 there seems to be a fragment older than J or E, rep-

resenting the conquest as the result of clan movements, quite after the fashion described in the old source preserved in Judg. i.

The rest of the book is from P. In xxxiii, 1-49 there is a list of the stations passed in the whole journey from Egypt to the plains of Moab, the story of Aaron's death being repeated (vv. 38 f.). Directions are given for the destruction of all idolatrous objects in the land of Canaan, and for the assignment of the land by lot (xxxiii, 50-56). The boundaries of Canaan are given, and the names of the twelve princes who with Eleazar and Joshua are to constitute the committee of allotment (xxxiv). Directions are given that forty-eight cities shall be assigned to the Levites (xxxv, 1-8), of which six, three on each side of the Jordan, are to be "cities of refuge," the laws concerning which are given (xxxv, 9-34). Finally a law is issued to provide for the retention of tribal land, directing that women holding land shall marry in their own tribe (xxxvi, 1-12). This law grows out of the law in xxvii, 8-11. The book ends with a general subscription (xxxvi, 13).

Deuteronomy

When this book was first published in 621 B.C., it produced the greatest sensation of any work in Hebrew literature. For a very long period the book exercised a tremendous influence upon Hebrew thought, even if it soon lost its hold on the life. No person, writing after the appearance of Deuteronomy, could

be quite unimpressed by its memorable phrases and style.

The story of the publication of Deuteronomy is told in 2 Kings xxii. The book found in the temple must have been Deuteronomy v-xxvi, xxviii, or possibly only cc. xii-xxvi. The whole Pentateuch would be too long for the quick reading described, and the effect upon king and people could only be produced by a code of laws which were a unit. The whole Pentateuch would only produce confusion. Moreover, Josiah's reforms, to which the reading of the book led, are all based on the Deuteronomic code.

It is very probable that Deuteronomy had been composed in the reign of Manasseh, and as his reign was a time of persecution, the book was held back for more auspicious days. Meanwhile the author died and his work was forgotten, until discovered in the house-cleaning at the temple.

In form the book is cast in a series of three discourses put in the mouth of Moses, because he was the great lawgiver. There is a mixture of narrative and legal material, but there is one peculiar note running through the whole, that is, its parenetic aim. The author of this book was not content to state what the laws were, but at every point pleads with the people to obey the law of God.

For our study, which can deal only with general matters, the book will be divided into three parts.

1. *The first discourse* (i-iv).—The introduction is found in i, 1-5, claiming that the address was made in the land of Moab, forty years after the exodus. Hence the appropriate place of the book between Numbers and Joshua. Moses' address (i, 6-iv, 40) is a review of the history from the exodus to the conquest of the land east of the Jordan. The matter is parallel to that in Exodus-Numbers, and it is interesting to note that at every point the statements are based upon JE and never once upon P. It is true that sometimes there is divergence from the earlier sources: thus Moses himself proposed the appointment of subsidiary judges (v. 19 ff.; Jethro did this according to Ex. xviii). The sending of spies was suggested by the people (i, 22), and Moses is punished for the fault of the people (iii, 26; iv, 21), not for his own unbelief or rebellion (cf. Num. xx). In iv, 41-43 the cities of refuge are named, and iv, 44-49 is a general summary.

It is held by some scholars that cc. i-iv are by a different author from that of cc. v-xxvi, xxviii. The question is largely academic, for the spirit of the two sections is the same.

2. *Moses' second discourse* (v-xxviii), embracing the code of laws.—The laws proper are contained in cc. xii-xxvi, and cc. v-xi are the introduction, exhorting the people to obey the law, laying stress upon the blessings which will follow obedience and the evils which will result from disregard of the laws, culminating in the blessing upon Mount Gerizim and the

curse upon Mount Ebal (xi, 26-32). The discourse is intensely monotheistic, emphazing the divinity of Jahveh alone, and in every way forbidding adherence to any heathen idols. From this motive the Hebrews were commanded to destroy the foreigners they would find in the land of Canaan, and forbidden to intermarry with them (vii, 1-6). The goodness of Jahveh to Israel is illustrated by a review of some of the events in the last forty years, and from the same source the wickedness of the people is pointed out as a solemn warning.

In this section we find the Deuteronomic version of the decalogue, and the story of its origin is told at great length (v, ix, 9-x, 5). There are many verbal differences between the two versions of the decalogue. That in Exodus xx has been used so exclusively in Christian teaching that this version is looked upon as an intruder. There is one point in which the difference is pretty radical, that is in the motive for observing the Sabbath day. The accepted version bases the obligation on a statement no longer regarded as true, that the world was created in six days, and yet we go on saying this in our most solemn liturgy and faithfully teach it to our children. The motive in the Deuteronomic version is eternally good, and is quite in the spirit of the whole book, whose teaching aims at the protection of the weaker classes. The object of the Sabbath in this code is to provide a day of rest for the servant class, the very ones least likely to get it, even in our day.

The laws in xii-xxvi embrace many subjects. The distinctive feature of this code comes at the start,—the law for a single altar. The earlier code had permitted the erection of an altar anywhere (Ex. xx, 24), and now but one altar is allowed in the whole land (xii, 1-14), and provision is made accordingly for the eating of non-sacrificial animals as food (xii, 15-28).

The altar is to be built at "the place which Jahveh thy God shall choose out of all your tribes to put his name there" (vv. 5, 11, 13). It has always been assumed that Jerusalem is meant, though that city is never named in our book. Of late years the startling fact has been discovered that there was a temple of Jahveh in Egypt, in the fifth century B.C., and that it had the approval of the highest Jewish authorities. The existence of that temple would be in violation of the law in Deuteronomy as it has been understood. It is clear, however, that this code is legislating for the land of Canaan, and not for the whole world; note the words "out of all your tribes." A second altar in Canaan would have broken the law, but strictly the law has nothing to say one way or the other about an altar in Egypt.

This code lays stress upon the fact that there is a fundamental law which no man can change (c. xiii). Such a law is the first commandment of the decalogue. A prophet who would abrogate that law is a rebel against God, no matter what powerful signs he may be able to work in support of his contention. Here we have a near approach to the standard of the Gospels (cf. St. Matt. xxiv, 24; St. John iv, 39-42). We may compare the promise of a supreme prophet (xviii, 15-19), but even here a test is given by which to discriminate by the character of his message whether the prophet is true or false (xviii, 20-22).

Another significant feature of this code is the restriction upon the absolute power of the king (xvii, 14-20), making the monarchy in Israel constitutional and not despotic.

The identity of priests and Levites appears in every part of this law. We have repeatedly the expression "the priests the Levites" (xvii, 9, 18; xviii, 1-8; xxi, 5; xxiv, 8). The appointment of the Levites to the priesthood is distinctly described in x, 8 f., and this code knows no other priests. The Levites were evidently a poor class and not well supported by dues, for they are frequently named along with orphans and widows as worthy objects of charity (xii, 19; xiv, 27, 29; xvi, 11; xxvi, 12 f.). The reduction of the Levites to a subordinate place, as set forth in Numbers xvi-xviii, was obviously later than 621 B.C.

The relation of this code to that of the Covenant (Ex. xx-xxiii), and to P, is interesting. The details are carefully worked out by Driver (*Deut., Int. Crit. Comm.*). A comparative study of the codes shows beyond doubt their independent origin. It shows also that Deuteronomy is an expansion of the earlier code, and is quite ignorant of many of the regulations of P. Thus in Deuteronomy there are but three annual feasts (c. xvi), Passover, Weeks, and Booths; the Day of Atonement is never mentioned. Slaves are to be released in the seventh year (xv, 12), and the year of jubilee (P's time of release) is absolutely unknown. That this code is based on the code of the Covenant is shown by numerous passages in which

there is verbal identity, and by the fact that nearly every law of the earlier code is repeated, though often with a good deal of modification. But there is a large amount of new legislation, as may be seen by a glance at the table in Driver (*Deut.*, p. iv ff.). Examples may be found in the laws limiting military service and governing the treatment of conquered peoples (cc. xx, xxi, 10-14), and in the measures to be followed in case of a murder when the criminal could not be found (xxi, 1-9).

The subscription to the code is found in xxvi, 16-19, and therefore it is more or less by violence that cc. xxvii, xxviii are included in this part. The latter is an expansion of the promises and threats which run through the introductory discourse. Every manner of blessing is promised the people if they keep the code (vv. 1-14), and language is scarcely adequate to depict the curses that will fall upon the people otherwise (vv. 15-68). Chapter xxvii is probably an independent production, providing for the record of the laws upon Mount Ebal, and making a code of its own, embracing twelve laws emphasized with the imprecations of the Levites. Six of the sins named in vv. 18, 21-26, are not mentioned in the Deuteronomic code; nine of them are found in the law of Holiness (Lev. xvii-xxvi), and five appear in the code of the Covenant (Driver, *Deut.*, p. 299).

3. (xxix-xxxiv.)—The material in this part is quite diverse in character. First, there is the third dis-

course of Moses (xxix, 2[1]-xxx), developing the idea of the blessing and the curse, the way of life and the way of death, and appealing to the people to secure good to themselves in the only possible way,—by obeying the law. There is a plain hint of the exile in the promise of restoration on condition of fidelity to the laws of God (xxx, 1-10). In xxxi, 1-8 we have Moses' final appeal to the people and to Joshua, in view of the shortly expected advance across the Jordan. Moses writes out the law, gives it to the priests, the sons of Levi, with instructions that it be publicly read in the year of release (xxxi, 9-13, 24-26). Joshua receives his commission (xxxi, 14 f., 23), and Moses is directed to compose a song to prove his forecast of the evil of which the people would be guilty after his death, and as a witness to God's power and fidelity (xxxi, 16-22, 27-30; xxxii, 44-47). The song follows in xxxii, 1-43. The theme is stated in vv. 4-6. The poem reviews the history of Israel to demonstrate that the cause of the evils which have befallen Israel are not due to any defect in God, but to the moral defects in the people. The song is quite of a type with the first two discourses of Moses in cc. i, ii. The date of the poem can only be determined approximately. It abounds with the theology and conceptions of the prophets, and seems to me to show marked affinities with deutero-Isaiah (Is. xl-lxvi). The nation has

[1] Chapter xxix, 1 really belongs to c. xxviii, and is thus joined in the Hebrew text.

reached a point when heavy disaster has overtaken them, from which deliverance is promised, and that disaster may well be the Babylonian exile. Most writers, however, date the poem in the late pre-exilic period.

The Blessing of Moses in c. xxxiii is composed on the same model as that of Jacob (Gen. xlix), in that each tribe (except Simeon) is named separately. There is, however, in this poem an introduction (vv. 2-5) and a conclusion (vv. 26-29). The tone of the blessing is optimistic throughout, so that it may well be dated in the prosperous and happy days of Israel. We note the relative prominence of the Levites, and that is the priestly tribe. Joseph also is exalted because of his large share in the conquest of Canaan (cf. Judg. i, 22 ff.). The absence of any mention of Simeon suggests a time after that tribe was absorbed into Judah (Judg. i, 3). The poem is certainly pre-exilic, and earlier than the body of Deuteronomy.

The Blessing appears appropriately in the midst of the story of Moses' death, the warning of which is found in xxxii, 48-52, and the history in c. xxxiv. The book closes with an appreciation of Moses (xxxiv, 10-12) that is not exaggerated, even though we realize that most of the writings attributed to him come from a much later age.

III.

THE HISTORICAL LITERATURE

UNDER this section we shall consider the books grouped in the Hebrew canon under the caption *former prophets*, i.e. Joshua-Kings, and also Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah. Other narrative books are not treated here: Ruth and Esther, because even if regarded as records of actual events, deal with personal rather than national affairs; and Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers, because they are best studied as a part of the Pentateuch. The books which fall to this chapter are the only ones properly regarded as historical, because they alone deal with national events. Before the time of Joshua there was really no nation, and after Ezra-Nehemiah there is nothing preserved in the way of history.

The term historical, applied to books of the Old Testament, is really misleading. Unless we are on our guard we may easily draw wrong conclusions from the use of this adjective. Let us always remember that the Hebrews themselves never applied the term to any part of the Old Testament. The earliest of these books they classed as prophetic. And such in fact they are. The aim of the Hebrew historian was never to record facts, but to teach a lesson. In Kings the author often says "and the rest of the acts of—— are they not written in the chronicles of——?" That

is to say, if one is in quest of historical material there is a proper place to find it, a place that was still available when these books were written, but unhappily lost long ago. The author selects such events as he chooses and tells them in such a way as best to bring out the lessons they teach. The aim was not a record of the past, but instruction for the present. The authors of the narrative books were not literary students, but teachers. The book of Judges is the most perfect example, and this purpose will be shown later in discussing that book.

That characteristic must be taken into account when we undertake the interpretation of the books; for we can be competent exegetes only by considering what an author's essential purpose was. The book of Joshua reveals much carelessness, even crudeness in treating of military affairs, but it never misses a chance to show how God furthered the righteous plans of His people.

It must also be borne in mind that these books in their present form were written long after the events they describe. We find abundant evidence of this. The phrase "unto this day" points to a period long subsequent to the time of the events described. The long period covered by Kings, and still more by Chronicles, shows a composition much later than the deeds recorded. The composite character of the books is proof that various independent histories had been written before the present writers undertook their compilation.

Joshua

The same sources have been used in Joshua as in the Pentateuch. Indeed the separation of this book from Numbers is purely arbitrary. It takes up the story exactly where it left off in the earlier books, and yet it was not compiled by the same hand. We use the term Hexateuch, which includes Joshua, but the Hebrews never employed the term, and it is better to treat this book in connection with those which follow.

The sources common to Joshua and the Pentateuch are J, E, and P. For the rest the greater part comes from a source indicated by D^2, the second Deuteronomist, one who writes history in the spirit of the book of Deuteronomy. The book of Joshua, therefore, in its present form must be considerably later than Deuteronomy.

The book falls into three parts: the conquest of Canaan (cc. 1-12); the division of the land among the tribes (cc. 13-22); Joshua's farewell (cc. 23, 24).

1. *The conquest of Canaan.*—In this part we note a strange disproportion in the amount of space given to different events. Thus four chapters are devoted to the crossing of the Jordan, and two long chapters to the conquest of Ai, while the whole campaign in northern Canaan covers nine verses (xi, 1-9). According to this narrative the conquest of Canaan was accomplished with only a single reverse, the first assault on Ai (vii, 1-5), Joshua's army being victorious in every other

battle. Again, it is the theory of the compiler that the conquest was effected by all the tribes of Israel fighting in a body under the absolute command of Joshua. It appears further from the story that this great undertaking was accomplished within the lifetime of one man, who must have been well advanced in years when he crossed the Jordan. Finally this book teaches that the Canaanites who were found in the land, with the single exception of the people of Gibeon, were exterminated and their cities destroyed; it is a campaign of destruction rather than a conquest. These points constitute the theory of the historian, and must be tested in due time by statements found elsewhere (see especially under Judges i. For the detailed analysis of the book see Driver, *Introduction*).

a. (i-iv).—The army of Israel crosses the Jordan. Jahveh calls upon Joshua to lead the people into the land which shall be theirs, and whose inhabitants will be defeated by Israel (i, 1-9); Joshua issues orders to the people to prepare provisions, and calls upon the trans-Jordanic tribes—Reuben, Gad and one-half of Manasseh—to leave their families and property and to join the other tribes in the conquest (i, 10-15); these tribes assent to the proposal, ordering death to anyone that disobeyed (i, 16-18). Joshua then sends two scouts to investigate the practicability of an assault on Jericho; their mission was discovered by the king, but they were concealed at the house of Rahab, the harlot, who deceived the king, and lowered the scouts over the wall from her house. After hiding

three days in the hills to avoid the searchers sent out by the king they safely recross the Jordan, reach the camp and report to the leader that the Canaanites are in great alarm on account of the threatened invasion (c. ii).

This chapter shows unmistakble signs of its composite character. A significant point is the fact that after the king had learned the character of their mission and had searched the city for the spies, they make an agreement to save Rahab on condition that she does not disclose their secret. Evidently in one version the presence of the spies was discovered; in the other it was not.

Preparations are made for crossing the river. The ark borne by the priests was to precede the army by 2,000 cubits, roughly a half mile (iii, 1-6); Jahveh gives explicit directions, which Joshua repeats to the people (iii, 7-12); the procession moves, and though the river was in flood, when the feet of the priests bearing the ark touched the edge of the water, the waters ceased to flow, being heaped up far above the crossing, and all the people pass over on dry ground (iii, 13-17); twelve stones were taken out of the river bed and set up as a memorial (iv, 1-9); further details, largely repetitions, are given of the crossing (iv, 10-24).

Evidences of a duplicate narrative abound. It is impossible to read these chapters as a simple straightforward story. In one source it appears that the priests stood in the edge of the river (iii, 8, 13, 15); in the other that they stood in the middle of the river (iii, 17; iv, 3, 10). It is directed to take stones from the bed of the river and set them up in the lodging place (iv, 3-

8, 20) ; then it appears that the stones were set up in the middle of the river (iv, 9) ; the purpose of this cairn is explained twice in very similar words (iv, 6 f. ; iv, 21 ff.).

b. (v).—Here we find a description of the panic among the Canaanites (v. 1); and the command to circumcise all the people of Israel, for it is said that those who had come from Egypt were circumcised, but that those had all died in the wilderness, and the present generation had not received the rite at all. The people remained in the camp until the wounds were healed (vv. 2-9); then the Passover was celebrated, and at this time the manna ceased (vv. 10-12); the prince of Jahveh's hosts appears to the leader in a fragment (vv. 13-15) which seems to be a prelude to the attack on Jericho.

This circumcision presents a serious difficulty. The army has the Jordan back of it and the hostile Canaanites in front. This rite, crudely performed by flint knives, quite disabled the people (v, 8 ; cf. Gen. xxxiv). The enemy could easily have destroyed the army under such conditions. Had this rite been performed in such a wholesale fashion, we should certainly have to suppose that it was done before crossing the river.

c. (vi).—Jericho is besieged so closely that ingress and egress are impossible (v. 1); the priests, equipped with ram's-horn trumpets, following the whole army, march around the city according to Joshua's direction once a day for six days, and seven times on the seventh day. The priests blow the trumpets, the people shout, the walls fall down, the army enters the city, every person and every animal is destroyed ("devoted" or put under a ban), the city with all of its property

is destroyed, and a curse pronounced upon the one who shall rebuild it.

This passage bristles with difficulties. "Flat" applied to the falling of the walls is a big assumption, and RV$^{mg.}$ "in its place" is not much better. The Hebrew word means literally *under it*, but it is not possible to say under what. Naturally it is not possible to explain the falling of the wall, unless in desperation we resort to an earthquake as Stanley did. The destruction of property which the poor Israelites sorely needed, and of a walled city which would be priceless as a base for further operations, suggest a writer more expert in religion than in military science. There are indications of a real war; e. g., the sending of scouts in advance (c. ii); the strait siege which may have continued a long time (v. 1); and Joshua's words, "the men of Jericho fought against you (xxiv, 11). Jericho appears to have been standing subsequently (vii, 2; Judg. iii, 13; 2 Sam. x, 5; but cf. 2 Ki. xvi, 34). The meaning may be that the city was captured with unexpected ease.

d. (vii, viii).—Scouts were sent to Ai who report that the place can be taken by a small force; three thousand are sent on the expedition, but they are driven back, though with a loss of only thirty-six men, indicating that the troops retreated without much fighting (vii, 1-5). Joshua pours out his deep distress in prayer, and is told by Jahveh that the cause of the disaster is the taking of the devoted booty of Jericho, and that the culprit must be detected by the sacred lot (vii, 6-15). Joshua summons all Israel, and the lot finally falls upon Achan who admits that a garment and some gold and silver are hidden in his tent; Achan with his family, cattle and property was destroyed, and a great heap of stones was piled over the dead bodies (vii,

16-26). Another assault is made upon Ai, but under vastly different conditions; a large army is placed in ambush back of the city, while the rest begin another frontal assault; the Aites come out from the city, and pursue those who deliberately yield before them. The men rise from ambush, enter and burn the city, and then start after the Aites. Meanwhile the fleeing Israelites turn and thus the enemy are caught and crushed between the two forces and are destroyed, but their property is saved as booty (c. viii).

Of itself this passage presents few difficulties other than the bewildering duplicates; e.g., 30,000 men in ambush, in viii, 3, but 5,000, in viii, 12. The defeat—the only one recorded against Joshua—was due to overconfidence. A small force was sent up, and as only thirty-six were lost out of 3,000, the attack was not very determined. The clever strategy of the second assault made success almost certain. The sin of Achan is the natural explanation of a writer who knew nothing of any cause except a direct act of God.

e. (ix).—The people of Gibeon send a deputation to Joshua to sue for peace. The deputies are clad in old clothes, their shoes are worn out, their wine-skins are rotten, and their bread is stale—conditions devised to support their statement that they came from a great distance. A treaty is made with them supported by an oath (vv. 1-15). Then the Israelites discovered that they lived near by, but they were bound by the oath to spare their lives, so the cunning Gibeonites were reduced to perpetual servitude.

The story appears to have a substratum that is old, but is colored by the Deuteronomic theory that the Canaanites were

all destroyed. In Deuteronomy vii, 2 it is expressly forbidden to make treaties with foreigners. There are many inconsistencies due to the composite character of the story, especially in regard to the chief authority, which is held variously by Joshua, by the princes, and by the people. The Gibeonites appear in their fortified city in c. x as Joshua's allies, and that suggests that the original story merely described the forming of a confederation.

f. (x).— Five kings from the south combine to punish Gibeon for making a confederacy with Israel, and they lay siege to the traitors. The beseiged send an appeal to Joshua, who makes a night march, surprises the allies in their siege lines, puts them to flight and, assisted by a hail storm, inflicts severe damage upon them. Joshua's army captures the five kings in a cave; they are brought out and slain and their cities and several others are taken and destroyed. Emphasis is laid upon the complete extermination of all the Canaanites: "he utterly destroyed all that breathed" (v. 40).

This is the campaign by which all southern Palestine fell into the hands of Israel. In this section we find a fragment of a poem quoted from the book of Joshua (vv. 12*b*, 13*a*), and the writer's interpretation (vv. 13*b*, 14), a bold literal understanding of the poem, which seems originally to be related to the storm indicated in v. 11. God was supposed to be peculiarly manifest in storms.

g. (xi, xii).—An alliance was made of the northern kings and the united forces met at the waters of Merom. Joshua surprised this body in their camp, defeated them signally, hamstrung the chariot horses, burned the chariots and slew the people (vv. 1-15).

Again he goes about the northern country, capturing and destroying. Chapter xii reviews the conquests of Moses (vv. 1-6) and of Joshua (vv. 7-24), the list of captured places comprising many cities not mentioned in the preceding story at all. There is in the section one interesting note intimating that these campaigns were not so much of a whirlwind type as we suppose: "Joshua made war a long time with all those kings." (v. 18).

2. *The division of the conquered land* (xiii-xxii).—There are still some border lands to conquer, but Joshua is old, and consequently he is directed to assign the land to the twelve tribes (xiii, 1-14). To make the catalogue complete there is a description of the portions given to the trans-Jordanic tribes,—Reuben (xiii, 15-23), Gad (xiii, 24-28) and the half tribe of Manasseh (xiii, 29-33). Caleb, who is never mentioned in cc. i-xii, appears now as an important factor in the conquest, makes an appeal to Joshua, and is given Hebron (xiv, 6-15), the original capital of the kingdom of Judah (2 Sam. ii, 1-4).

We come now to the western tribes, and find much space given to the description of Judah's portion (xv, 1-63); but the passage includes an account of Caleb's conquest of Hebron and Debir (vv. 13-19), places previously said to have been conquered by all Israel (x, 36-39). The lot of Joseph is described (xvi, 1-4), but this tribe suddenly becomes Ephraim (xv, 5-10) and Manasseh (xvii, 1-13). Then strangely the

tribe of Joseph complains to Joshua that but one portion was given to this great tribe, and Joshua tells them to go in and conquer more land (xvii, 14-18).

It is a theory that Ephraim and Manasseh were always separate tribes (xiv, 4; xvi, 4; xvii, 17), because these sons were adopted by Jacob as his own (Gen. xlviii, 5). There are, however, numerous indications of a separate and powerful tribe of Joseph (see in addition to the above passage, Judg. i, 22 ff.). It may be that the original Joseph tribe, accupying the central part of Canaan, was later split into the two branches; or that the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh later got possession of the land originally held by the Joseph people.

The story of the allotment is halted now by a tale quite at variance with i-xii, but fully in accord with what we shall find in Judg. i. Joshua upbraids the seven remaining tribes because they did not go in to possess the land. Scouts were sent through the land and an apportionment was made on the basis of their report (xviii, 1-10). Then the portions are described: Benjamin's, xviii, 11-20; Simeon's, xix, 1-9; Zebulun's, xix, 10-16; Issachar's, xix, 17-23; Asher's, xix, 24-31; Naphtali's, xix, 32-39; and Dan's, xix, 40-48.

In c. xx there is described the setting apart of the six cities of refuge, three on each side of the Jordan (on which cf. Ex. xxi, 13; Num. xxxv, 64; Deut. iv, 41; xix, 2). In c. xxi we find a late passage dealing with the assignment of ninety-six cities to the priests and Levites. As a matter of fact, Levites were very scarce in this early age.

Finally there is recorded the dismissal of the two and a half tribes to their homes beyond the Jordan,

which nearly resulted in war. The tribes set up a memorial to prove their affinity with Israel, but the others regarded it as a symbol of idolatry. After the real purpose of the altar was explained, peace is proclaimed (c. xxii). There may be remnants of an old story here of inter-tribal strife, but it is difficult to pick this out of the mass of the present material which shows a very late conception.

3. *Joshua's farewell.*—In the first address (c. xxiii), the aged leader exhorts the tribes to complete their conquests and to avoid the worship of the gods of Canaan, and emphasizes the many things Jahveh had done for them. In the second address (c. xxiv), Israel's history is reviewed after the manner of later times to prove Jahveh's goodness, and Joshua calls upon them to choose between the native gods and Jahveh. The people solemnly pledge themselves to the worship of Jahveh, in witness of which a great stone is set up in Shechem—note the anachronism "the sanctuary of Jahveh" (v. 26), showing a late source. The book closes with an account of Joshua's death and burial in the hill country of Ephraim where he had received his inheritance (cf. xix, 49 f.); of the burial of Joseph's bones in Shechem, and of the death and burial of Eleazar the priest.

Judges

The book falls into three parts: 1 (c. i), *the conquest*; 2 (cc. ii-xvi), *the stories of the heroes*; 3 (cc.

xvii-xxi), an appendix containing two strange stories of the early days.

The title comes from the term applied to the heroes; but *judge* here has not primarily a judicial connotation, for the judge was a ruler, sometimes almost if not quite a king. The length of each judgeship is given and these added make four hundred and ten years (cf. Driver, *Introd.*), a figure far too high. But for the most part the stories deal with clans, or at most with tribes, and we cannot rely on the chronological data.

1. *The Conquest* (i).—The significance of the story in chapter i is not always realized. It must be assumed to describe the situation presupposed at the beginning of *Joshua*, and the passage is otherwise meaningless; therefore the phrase "after the death of Joshua" is a late editorial note. The tribes are ready to begin the conquest, and by Jahveh's direction Judah is chosen to begin the campaign. Judah makes a private agreement with Simeon to assist in the undertaking, promising later to help the latter tribe with its task. The conquests of Judah are described, and outside of Jerusalem, which was not wrested from the Jebusites until David's time, about all that is conquered are Hebron and Debir, which towns in Josh. xv, 13 ff., a passage in almost verbatim agreement, are taken by Caleb.

Next the tribe of Joseph moves forward, and by inducing a man to show them an easy access to the city, capture Bethel (vv. 22-26). The rest of the

chapter gives a list of places in Canaan which the various tribes were unable to conquer, but the original Canaanites were either reduced to task work or dwell with the Israelites as allies.

The conception of the conquest as pictured here is radically different from that outlined in Josh. i-xii. Here each tribe acts independently; there is no extermination of the Canaanites, and there is reason to suppose that a long period of time was required. In Josh. xiii-xxii there is much of this material repeated, and especially we note that the first assignments were made to Judah and Joseph, after which the other tribes were urged to undertake their conquests. The fact is that the conquest of Canaan really lasted from the time of Moses to the time of David.

We may reconcile the discrepant stories in part. We must leave out the episodes of the trans-Jordanic tribes. In any case they could not have left their families and cattle exposed to the plundering desert tribes. Joshua may be regarded as the leader of the Joseph tribe, as evidence for which we have his inheritance in Ephraim (Josh. xix, 49f.), and the main battles described are really those fought by this one mighty tribe.

2. *The stories of the Heroes* (ii-xvi).—There are several "judges" named, about whom we have no stories at all. The men were probably known to have done some heroic deeds, but there was no record of their exploits, so that only their names are preserved. These are Othniel (iii, 7-11), who figures, however, in the Caleb stories (i, 13; Josh. xv, 17); Shamgar, iii, 31; Tola, x, 1 f.; Jair, x, 3-5 (and cf. Num. xxxii, 41, where there is an epitome of the same story); Ibzan xii, 8-10; Elon, xii, 13-15. Those about whom a tale is told are Ehud (iii, 12-30), Barak (iv, v), Gideon, or

Jerubbaal (vi, 1-viii, 32), Abimelech (viii, 33-ix, 57), Jephthah (xi, 6-xii, 7), Samson (xiii-xvi). There are six judges of the latter and seven of the former class, thirteen in all.

Each heroic tale is set in a frame-work due to the compiler. The stories are introduced by a statement that the Isrealites did wrong; that Jahveh therefore delivered them into the power of an enemy; that they cried to God in their distress; that he raised up a deliverer (the hero), whose exploits are then described; and at the end it is said that the land had rest for so many years. The purpose of the book is thus seen to be didactic. The compiler is a prophet whose burden is that Israel prospers when they obey Jahveh and suffer when they are unfaithful. The stories are used as illustrations of the theological principle. Two of these stories fit into the scheme but indifferently, viz. that of Samson and that of Abimelech. For the latter, indeed, the interpretative introduction is lacking, for the editor could not make this story fit his scheme; he does, however, point out what he conceives to be its moral (*vide* ix, 56 f.).

The editor of the book held the theory seen already in the book of Joshua, that Israel was a nation from the beginning. Therefore he adds notes here and there to lend color to his hypothesis. The stories themselves, though, bear constant witness to the disorganized condition of the land and of the people. Each tribe or clan is looking after its own interests solely, and when the interests conflict, there is quar-

reling and even inter-tribal war. The condition of Israel in this period is very much like that in our own country in the period preceding the adoption of the constitution in 1787.

A careful study of the stories shows that there is no instance in which the whole nation is involved; that often but a small clan is affected; and that Judah practically does not figure in the history of the period. This tribe is mentioned only in the story of Othniel, which does not really belong to this period, and incidentally in that of Samson. The fact is that Judah finds no real place in the history until the time of David. He really made the tribe of Judah.

In ii, 1-iii, 6 we find the editor's introduction in which he elaborates his theological conception. A messenger of Jahveh reproves the Israelites because they had made treaties with the Canaanites (ii, 5-1); reference is made to a time when Israel had been faithful (ii, 6-10); there is a survey of the infidelity of Israel in this period (ii, 11-23); an explanation is given of the fact that Jahveh permitted enemies to remain (iii, 1-6), contrary to the theory in Joshua i-xii.

a. The exploit of Ehud (iii, 12-30).—This is an old story and is doubtless historical. Eglon, the king of Moab, crossed the Jordon, took and held Jericho, and thus was able to levy tribute upon the tribe of Benjamin. Ehud, like many other Benjamites, was left-handed; therefore he could carry a sword, convenient for quick service, on his right side, an unusual place.

Ehud crossed the Jordan to carry the imposed tribute to the Moabite capital. Knowing how suspicious is a despotic monarch, always afraid of treachery, he secured a private audience with Eglon, and thus was able to assassinate him and escape. The Moabite garrison in Jericho heard of the fall and abandoned their post and started to retreat homewards. Meanwhile Ehud had aroused his people in the hill country and had seized the fords of the Jordan. On this bloody battle-ground the fleeing Moabites were intercepted and annihilated. The result was an impressive lesson to the marauding peoples. Israel was becoming too strong to be molested with impunity.

b. The memorable victory of Barak (iv, v).—There are really three accounts of this campaign, the prose account in c. iv, the poetical account in the Song of Deborah (c. v), and the parallel in Joshua (xi, 1-9).[1] There is the usual amount of variation, but the main points are clear. The most trustworthy version is that in the Song of Deborah, one of the earliest compositions in the Old Testament, and practically a contemporary document. The text is very corrupt, unfortunately; in parts it is almost untranslatable; but what we can make out is of immense value.

The campaign is waged for the largest prize in the whole land of Canaan,—the great and fertile Plain of Esdraelon. This valley was held by the Canaanites,

[1] For a full study of these narratives, my article on *The Conquest of Northern Canaan* (J B L, 1905) may be consulted.

while the tribes of Israel were forced to abide in the surrounding hills, and were therefore subject to all kinds of molestation. The condition of Israel is eloquently described in a few lines:—

> "In the days of Jael the highways were unoccupied,
> And the travelers walked through by-ways.
> Was there sword or spear seen,
> Among forty thousand in Israel." (vv. 6, 8).

The roads were unsafe because of the attacks of the enemy, and the people of Irsael were without weapons.

The inspiration for action came from the prophetess Deborah, who had given oracles to Israel from the sacred palm tree in the hill country of Ephraim. She aroused Barak of Naphtali, and persuaded him to undertake the conquest of the great Plain. There is a list of the tribes which responded to the call to arms —Ephraim, Benjamin and Manasseh, on the southern border of the Plain, and Zebulun, Issachar and Naphtali,[2] on its northern border. The tribes whose interests were closely affected joined in the war, and these six tribes constitute the biggest confederation found at any time before the days of David. There is further a reproving list of those who disregarded the summons,—Reuben and Gad across the Jordan, and Dan and Asher on the extreme west. The tribes

[2] In the prose story only Naphtali and Zebulun are mentioned as participants in the battle (iv, 6). From the repeated mention of these tribes in the poem (v, 18), it may well be that they bore the heaviest burden in the campaign.

who were not affected took no part in the war. Judah, Simeon and Levi are not mentioned at all.

There was a great storm which contributed to the downfall of the enemy, as their chariots would be ineffective in the muddy valley. Great stress is laid upon the slaughter of Sisera, a great king and the leader of the allied Canaanites, because he met a disgraceful death at the hands of a woman (cf. ix, 54), and his death broke the back of Canaanite resistance in the great Plain. There is a radical difference between the two stories at this point. According to the poem, Sisera came to the door of Jael's tent and asked for water. She brought him the favorite curdled milk in a large bowl, and while his eyes were covered by the dish, she seized some implement and felled him with a mighty blow. The prose writer (iv, 17-22), like many later readers, misunderstood the narrative, and thus changed Jael's heroic act into a deed of the darkest treachery.

c. Gideon's victory over the Midianites (vi, 1-viii, 32).—In this campaign the battle is fought by a clan, the Abiezrites of the tribe of Manasseh. There is a double narrative running all through, so that there is endless confusion and duplication. Moore analyzes the story, roughly, thus: to J belongs vi, 1-6, 11-24, 34; vii, 1, 9-11, 13-15; 16-21, 22*b*; viii, 4-21, 24-27*a* 30 f.; the rest belongs to E, or the redactor. It is surprising to note the completeness of each version. In brief, J's story runs: Gideon is moved by the duty

of blood revenge, because the Midianites in one of their plundering forays have slain his brothers (viii, 18-21). Aroused by the visit of a messenger of Jahveh, he collects three hundred of his clan and encamps in the hills of Moreh, close to the enemy. Going out by night to reconnoitre, he discovers a panicy condition, because the Midianites have heard of his taking up the blood feud. A night attack is made, so as to increase the panic, but many of the enemy escape across the Jordan. The relentless leader pursues until he captures and slays the two kings and routs their forces. From the spoils he makes an ephod, some kind of an idolatrous image, and sets it up at his home.

E's account runs: Inspired by a prophet's rebuke, and under cover of the night, Gideon destroys his father's altar to Baal and builds one to Jahveh in its place, thus getting the name Jarebbaal.[3] When the Midianites invade the land, Gideon, who has become already a prominent figure, calls the neighboring tribes to drive them out. He tests his call by the sign of the fleece, and when reassured reduces his force from 32,000 to 300, so that all Israel will see that the victory belongs to Jahveh. Moving upon the enemy by night, he creates a panic by the flaming torches and the flaring trumpets, so that they slay each other. He summons Ephraim, who heads off the

[3] The meaning of this name given in the text is *let Baal contend*, but there is grave doubt about the correctness of that interpretation.

fugitives at the Jordan and kills their princes. By smooth words he allays the anger of this jealous tribe.

J's story has all the marks of antiquity and of historicity, though E may have some authentic details. We see something of the strife between Israelites and Canaanites (the Baal worshipers). We find here the establishment of the first petty kingdom of Israel, for Gideon's refusal to be king (viii, 23) must not be taken any more seriously by us than it was by the Abiezrites.

d. The reign of Abimelech (viii, 33-ix, 57).—Gideon had extended his rule over the Canaanite town of Shechem, and had bequeathed his government to his seventy legitimate sons. Abimelech was also Gideon's son, but his mother was a Canaanite of Shechem. He appealed to the Shechemites, on the basis of the common blood, and by their support overthrew the throne of Gideon and became the king. Trouble arose between the king and his subjects so that he was driven away from Shechem for a time and lived the life of a freebooter. Aided by his faithful lieutenant, Zebul, he defeated the hostile party with Gaal at its head, and regained his throne. He became ambitious and attempted to enlarge his kingdom by the conquest of Thebez, which had probably been subject to Gideon, but was slain in the attack by a stone hurled from the tower by a woman.

This story is one of the oldest in the book, and is very important because it is a picture of the struggle

between the Israelites and the Canaanites, showing how the latter were gradually reduced by the former. Shechem from this time becomes an imporant town of Israel.

e. Jephthah's defeat of the Ammonites (x, 6-xii, 7).—The scene is laid in Gilead on the east of the Jordan, and the clan involved is Gilead. Jephthah, like Abimelech, was the son of a concubine, and therefore driven away from his father's house. He went to Tob, a town in Syria (cf. 2 Sam. x, 6, 8), and gathered a company of outlaws like himself. He was recalled and made king on condition that he would drive out the invading Ammonites. The story pauses to describe a long diplomatic parley (xi, 12-28), which is made up largely of material found in Num. xx, xxi, and which has nothing to do with Ammon, for it recounts the relations of Israel and Moab. Thus Jephthah is made to say to the Ammonites, "Chemosh thy God" (v, 24), but Chemosh was the god of Moab.

The story is memorable because of the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter. On the eve of the battle the leader, desirous of securing the favor of Jahveh, and believing that the more valuable the sacrifice the stronger the appeal, vowed, in case of victory, to offer for a burnt-offering whoever[4] came forth from

[4] 'Whatsoever' of the English version is an impossible translation, designed to support the theory that the woman was not sacrificed, but retired to a life of perpetual virginity. This interpretation cannot be wrung from the text.

the doors of his house to meet him. His object was to let Jahveh choose his own victim, and that proved to be his only child, and after two months' lament over dying childless, her father "did with her according to his vow which he had vowed" (xi, 39).

There is an appendix to the story (xii, 1-7), describing another quarrel with Ephraim. It appears that up to this time some of the Ephraimites were settled on the east of the Jordan. They differed from other Israelites by lacking one of the sibilants, so that they pronounced *sh* like *s*. Jephthah did not trifle with these people as Gideon did (viii, 1-3), but slew them or drove them across the Jordan.

f. Samson's assaults upon the Philistines (xiii-xvi).—More space is given to this hero than to any other in the book. The original story evidently ended with xv, 20, as xvi is an appendix. Like Samuel and John Baptist, Samson belonged to the order of the Nazirites (cf. Am. ii, 11 f.); likewise also there was a quasi-miraculous element in his birth. He belonged to the tribe of Dan, located in the hills on the west. Samson never attempted to gather a force, but always performed individual exploits. He never made any systematic attempt to rid his country of an enemy, but seemingly acts capriciously, and is moved usually by the motive of personal revenge. He is the great jester of the Old Testament, loving riddles and indulging in rather tragic jokes, such as paying his debts to those to whom he lost a wager by slaying

their kinsmen and taking the clothing from their dead bodies; by turning the jackals into the enemies' grain; and by pretending to be securely bound only to find occasion for the fresh slaughter of his foes. His exploits are due to his great physical strength, and that power depends upon his long hair, the hero becoming weak when his hair was cut and strong when it grew again.

The story indroduces a new enemy, the dreaded Philistines, living on the plains along the Mediterranean. These people had already won sovereignty over Judah, and they soon invade all Israel, so there is war between the two peoples until the Philistines were finally driven out by David.

3. *An appendix* (cc. xvii-xxi).—This contains two stories which are quite unlike the others in the book, but which throw light on the general conditions of the time. We note the later point of view in the recurring phrase, "in those days there was no king in Israel: every man did that which was right in his own eyes" (xvii, 6; xviii, 1; xix, 1; xxi, 25).

a. The migration of Dan (xvii, xviii).—This story discloses the religious conditions in early Israel and the method by which the tribes reached their final settlements. The Danites were wedged in the hills between Judah and the Philistines, and now they captured the city of Laish, and renamed it Dan, and thus reached the northern border of Israel.

Micah builds a private temple and furnishes it with

suitable images. At first his son is priest. Later he secures the more cherished services of a Levite. It appears that the home of the Levites was in Bethlehem-judah; that they were wont to wander about seeking employment; that they were consulted as oracles (xviii, 5 f.); and that they used some peculiar intonations in their offices by which their voice was recognizable (xviii, 3). When the Danites changed their location they robbed Micah of his gods and of his priest, and so the later notorious sanctuary of Dan was established. This priest was a grandson of Moses. In the Hebrew text the name was changed to Manasseh, because of the ill repute of this temple.

b. The war with Benjamin (xix-xxi). — This is rather a ghastly story, and it has been so worked over by later hands that it is difficult to tell just what did happen. We note the late point of view making Israel act as a compact body. The numbers mustered for the war are quite incredible (xx, 15-17); the strategy is an exact reproduction of that used at Ai (Josh. viii); and the people first try to exterminate a tribe, and then take pains to restore it. The story shows the strong sentiment of blood revenge; the poor esteem in which the Benjamites were held; the powers of this tribe in war; and a connection between this tribe and Jabesh-gilead on the east of the Jordan. Probably some of these people had never crossed that river. Several of the tribes appear to have been divided in the early days. The picture of the annual

feast at Shiloh appears to be early, and it was obviously a vintage festival at the celebration of which the maidens figured conspicuously.

Samuel

The division of Samuel into two books is purely arbitary, and was unknown in the Hebrew text until the sixteenth century. The name *Samuel* is not very appropriate for the books, for that seer is the chief figure only in the early part of the story. The name may be due to the theory that the prophets were the authors of various sections of the historic books; thus in 1 Chr. xxix, 29 we have a note of "the history of Samuel the seer."

The books cover the history of a very important period, in which the people emerge from the chaotic condition of the age of the Judges, make an abortive effort to establish an independent government under Saul, and finally reach the point of great national power under David. The period is not very long, not much longer than the life of an individual, but much is accomplished in the short time. We may compare the books of Kings, which are about the same in bulk, and which cover a period of about four centuries.

The books are like most others in the Old Testament in that they are composite. The analysis is sometimes quite difficult, but as a rule it is easy to differentiate between two sources, one of which is early and the other quite late, and that distinction

will serve our purpose in this treatise. For convenience these will be designated as E and L respectively. The point of view is very different in the two sources, especially in regard to Samuel's position, so that we really have two Samuels, and in the early part of his career, two Davids. The early source bears every mark of trustworthiness.

The text of these books is very corrupt, the Septuagint often showing a different reading from the Hebrew. We shall not often find it necessary to take up the textual problems, as they belong to the commentaries, rather than to a general hand-book.

The books fall into six main divisions: 1. *The rise of Samuel* (I, i-vii); 2. *The rise of Saul* (I, viii-xv); 3. *The rise of David* (I, xvi-xxxi); 4. *David as king of all Israel* (II. i-viii); 5. *David's decline* (II, ix-xx); 6. *An appendix* (II, xxi-xxiv).

1. *The rise of Samuel* (1 Sam. i-vii).—In the early part of these books, Samuel is a conspicious figure, as he is named more than 125 times. In E he is pictured merely as a local seer, while in L he is a prophet of national fame, and is really a dictator making and unmaking even kings, and assuming absolute authority to regulate their administrations.

Samuel's early life is described in cc. i-iii, which is from L, and it is a beautiful story of his birth in answer to his mother's prayers, of his vision while a child ministering in the temple at Shiloh. There is worked into the story the tale of the evil deeds of Eli's

sons and of the doom of that priestly house, so that Samuel is recognized as the great prophet of Jahveh (iii, 20).

Then we come to a section of E, iv-vii, 2, in which Samuel is never mentioned, and in which the ark of Jahveh, which was mentioned but incidentally in i-iii, occupies the centre of interest. The ark is taken into battle as a talisman, but is captured by the Philistines and placed in the temple of Dagon. Wherever the ark goes, a pestilence, now generally recognized as the Bubonic plague, breaks out, and the afflicted Philistines send the ark back to Judah with a trespass offering. It lay neglected in the house of Abinadab in Kirjath-jearim for twenty years.

In c. vii Samuel appears as the national hero, and we easily recognize L. By his directions the people muster for battle at Mizpah. Water is poured out as an oblation; a rite we know nothing about, though David does the same act (1 Sam. xxiii, 16). When the Philistines assemble, Samuel offers a sucking lamb as a sacrifice, and then the battle is joined, Jahveh thundering against the foe, so that the Philistines were completely subdued, and "came no more within the border of Israel," a statement quite inconsistent with the subsequent history.

2. *The rise of Saul* (1 Sam. viii-xv).—It is quite impossible to make a consistent, straightforward story out of this section as it stands. Nowhere in the Old Testament is there more unmistakable evi-

dence of duplicate versions of the same story. The section is quite easily separated into two accounts of the crowning of Saul. The story of E consists of ix, 1-x, 16, 27*b*; xi; xiii, xiv; the story of L consists of viii, x, 17-27*a*; xii, xv. The best justification of the analysis is the careful study of each account separately; but here we must be content with a simple outline.

(L) Samuel being old and his sons and natural successors being incompetent, the elders come to him and demand that a king shall be appointed. Samuel was displeased, and when he laid the matter before Jahveh, Jahveh regarded the demand as an act of rebellion, yet he directed Samuel to comply. The prophet tried to dissuade the people by telling them how the king would oppress them. As the people persist, an assembly was held, the lots are cast, and thus Saul is chosen. Samuel reviewed his own administration to show how faithful he had been and emphasized the crowning wickedness of the people in asking for a king. Samuel directed Saul to exterminate the Amalekites and to slay all their cattle. Saul obeyed, except that he reserved Agag the king and some of the choice animals for a great sacrifice. Samuel upbraided the king for his disobedience, and declared that Jahveh had rejected him from being king, and would put a better man in his place. Samuel never saw Saul again to the day of his death (but cf. xix, 22 ff.).

(E) Saul was sent with a servant to find his father's strayed asses. After a long and fruitless search ending in Zuph, at the servant's suggestion they turned

aside to consult a man of God who lived near by. Jahveh had warned Samuel that a Benjamite would come to him whom he was to anoint king, because Jahveh was moved by the oppression which his people suffered at the hands of the Philistines. Samuel honored Saul and entertained him over night. In the morning, having sent the servant on ahead, Samuel secretly anointed Saul, gave him signs which would prove his divine commission, and then bade him seize the opportunity when it comes.

Jabesh-gilead, a city east of the Jordan, was hard pressed by the Ammonites. The besieged sent messengers through Israel, reciting their sad plight. Saul was coming from the field when he heard the sad news. Cutting his oxen to pieces, he despatched strips to his neighbors, threatening all that did not rally to deliver the men of Jabesh-gilead. Thus he mustered a force, saved the city, and was then publicly made king. The rest of the story in cc. xiii, xiv recites how Jonathan forced a war with the Philistines, how the first battle was won, and how nearly Jonathan came to grief because he had unknowingly violated Saul's rash oath to put to death anyone who tasted food before the battle was over.

It is well to note a few points of contrast. In L Samuel is the national dictator; a king can only be appointed by his authority, and be assumes power to give orders to the king, and to pronounce deposition when the king obeys imperfectly. In E Samuel is a local seer, quite unknown to Saul, and with au-

thority only as he can persuade one that he speaks the word of God. In L the initiative for the kingdom is taken by the people, Samuel and Jahveh being opposed to it. In E the first step is taken by Jahveh, Samuel being his willing agent, and the people accept the kingdom only when Saul has done a valorous act which entitles him to consideration. In L, in harmony with the same source in c. vii, the only enemy for Saul to fight is the desert tribe of Amalek. In E the land is held by the Philistines, and Israel is subject to them.

3. *The rise of David* (1. Sam. xvi-xxxi).—There is a story in xvi, 1-13 that David was anointed king by Samuel while still a shepherd lad, for the purpose of replacing the deposed Saul. This story is from L and it is very difficult to connect it with any subsequent history. In xvi, 14-23 David is brought to Saul's court, and he is already a seasoned warrior as well as a skilful musician. The king has developed melancholia, and David is brought to soothe him with music. Saul becomes so attached to David that he makes him his armor-bearer, a post consistent with his fame as a warrior.

The story of David and Goliath as told in c. xvii bristles with knotty problems. David has become a shepherd lad again, coming to the battle by accident; he knows nothing of war or armor, and can only fight with the sling. Neither Saul nor his general, Abner, know who David is. Moreover, in an old section (2

Sam. xxi, 19), it is said that Goliath was slain by Elhanan. The chronicler saw the difficulty and inserted "brother of" before "Goliath." The story is inconsistent, saying that David put Saul's armor in his tent and took his head to Jerusalem, whereas David was only a visitor and Jersualem was a Jebusite city. Some texts of the lxx lack xvii, 12-31, 41; xvii, 55-xviii, 5; but this relieves the passage of only a part of its difficulties. The story appears to be a parallel to xvi, 14-23, a duplicate version of David's attachment to Saul's court.

At any rate David in some way becomes the leader of Saul's army, and distinguishes himself in the Philistine wars; his praise is sung in a popular song, and Saul's jealousy is aroused so that he attempts to assassinate David while he played the harp (xviii, 1-16). The history becomes now a story of Saul's persecution of David. He tried to secure his death at the hands of the Philistines (xviii, 17-30); he ordered him slain in his bed, but David was saved by the wife he had won by killing two hundred Philistines (xix, 1-17); Saul sends messengers to capture David after his flight, but David is protected by the prophets who bring the prophetic frenzy upon the messengers and upon Saul himself, thus reducing them to impotence (xix, 18-24). Jonathan is led to test his father's attitude towards David; he finds his hostility unconquerable, and warns David to flee (xx). David secures Goliath's sword and some holy bread from Ahimelech, the priest at Nob, and goes to

the court of Achish the king of Gath, one of the chief Philistine cities. The officers distrust David, and he escapes by feigning madness, an art easy for an attendant upon the mad Saul, and effective because the person of a madman was sacred (c. xxi).

David is now without a home, country or follower. His position is truly perilous; but Saul had not been able to rob him of his personality. He goes to the stronghold of Adullam in southern Judah, and gathers a band of outlaws. Saul learns of his hiding place and relentlessly pursues him, David being at times in great peril. Saul ascertains that Ahimelech aided David and slays in cold blood eighty-five "persons that did wear a linen ephod." It is plain that Saul was insane and that his homicidal mania was acute (c. xxii). David rescues Keilah from the Philistines, but is warned by the oracle that the men he has saved will betray him to Saul. He returns to the wilderness of Judah, and escapes only because Saul is called back to meet an attack by the Philistines (c. xxiii), who had invaded the land of Israel.

In cc. xxiv and xxvi there are very similar stories of Saul's pursuit of David, in both of which David had the king at his mercy, but refused to stretch out his hand against "the Lord's anointed," and in both of which there is a reconciliation between Saul and David. The peace was vain, for David did not return to Saul's court. These stories have exactly the same plot, so that in spite of the great divergence in detail, they may be duplicates. It does, however, bring us

to the end of the active persecution. Saul becomes fully engaged elsewhere, and David abandons the land of Israel.

Between those two stories there is an account (c. xxv) from an apparently early source, which is of great importance because it shows the first traces of David's acting the part of a ruler. It appears that he protected the herds of sheep which grazed in southern Judah, and then levied tribute upon the sheepmasters. It is plain that he would have slain Nabal for refusing to pay, had it not been for the effective intervention of Abigail, who after Nabal's death became David's first wife, for Saul's daughter, Michal, he had been compelled to leave and she had been given to another man.

David is afraid to risk a sojourn in the Judean wilderness, and as he now has an effective fighting force he returns to Achish and is assigned Ziklag as his own city. From this point he raided the country, deceiving Achish by telling him that he was commiting his depredations in Judah (c. xxvii). The Philistines prepared for an invasion of Israel, and Achish ordered David to join the expedition. This was an embarassing situation for the hero of Israel, but he was extricated by the jealous officers of Achish, who feared that at the critical moment he would turn traitor, so that Achish sent him back (c. xxix).

Saul was in acute distress when he learned of the invasion. He could get no oracle by any of the legitmate methods of ascertaining the divine will. In his despair he consults the Witch of Endor. By her arts

Samuel is made to appear before Saul and predicts that he will fall in the battle to be fought on the morrow (c. xxviii). Saul and his army meet the Philistines on Mount Gilboa, and the Israelites meet a fearful disaster. Saul's sons are slain. Saul is wounded, and as his armor-bearer refuses to put an end to his misery, he takes his own life. The land was occupied by the conquerors, and Israel was in sore straits (c. xxx).

Meanwhile David and his hardy band of 600 had returned to Ziklag. They found there only the smouldering ruins left by the Amalekites, a tribe which had according to c. xv, been exterminated. David's band was not very well disciplined, and a mutiny nearly broke out. The leader saved the day by quick and vigorous action. The raiders were overtaken, all the plunder from Ziklag was recovered, and much additional booty captured. Of his own share, David sent liberal portions to a number of Judean towns, his object appearing later on (see c. xxx).

4. *David becomes king, first of Judah, then of all Israel* (2 Sam. i-viii).—Two days after his return in triumph to Ziklag, an Amalekite brings David the news of Saul's death, claiming that he had dispatched the wounded king, and offering Saul's crown and bracelet as evidence.[5] David at once orders the mes-

[5] This story differs from the account of Saul's death in 1 Sam. xxxi, 4. It is probable that the Amalekite invented his tale, supposing that David would reward the one who killed his enemy. The hostility of Saul to David was of course widely known.

senger slain, on the ground that he had committed a crime in laying his hand on the Lord's anointed (cf. 1 Sam. xxiv, 6; xxvi, 11).

There is incorporated David's lament over Saul and Jonathan (i, 19-27). The compiler quotes the song from *the book of Jashar*, from which "the song of the sun" was also taken (Josh. x, 12 f.), evidently a collection of poems on the early heroes. There is no reason to question David's authorship of the song, but it is very different from the Psalms attributed to David, especially in the absence of any religious note. But it does establish the fact that David was a poet as well as musician. The song breathes a genuine admiration for Saul, and is especially touching in its description of Jonathan's affection.

Saul's death cleared the way for David to return to Judah, for there was no longer any danger of persecution. After consulting Jahveh, David went to Hebron, and by the action of "the men of Judah" was anointed king over that tribe. It is well to emphasize the fact that for seven years David was king of the tribe of Judah only, and that during that time his capital was at Hebron. It is plain from his commendation of the Jabesh-gileadites (ii, 4*b*-7), as well as from his subsequent actions, that it was his ambition to rule over a larger empire.

There is curiously not a hint in our sources as to the beginning of David's aspirations towards the throne. During Saul's lifetime he steadily refused to undertake any act of hostility towards his former chief. His actions are generally inconsistent

with the anointing in his boyhood described in 1 Sam. xvi, 1-13. Yet it is possible that Samuel had recognized the impossibility of the continuance of the house of Saul and had inspired David to prepare for the succession. Many of the revolutions of later days in Israel were instigated by the prophets. The moment Saul was dead, David went to Judah to become king. He had evidently prepared for this in advance, as he had sent presents of his spoil to the elders of Judah (1 Sam. xxx, 26 ff.). There was some influence which restrained David as long as Saul was alive, perhaps the inadequacy of his own resources, but he acted vigorously the moment Saul was dead. The house of Saul was pretty nearly exterminated, and the power of Benjamin was badly shattered by the battle of Gilboa; on the other hand, David had a strong tribe at his back; and Judah had at its head one of the great rulers of history.

Abner had gathered the scattered remnant of the forces of Israel at Mahanaim on the east of the Jordan, and he made the weakling, Ish-bosheth, or properly Ishbaal, king. David sent Joab northward, and as Abner heard of his movements, he brought a force and the two bands met. Starting apparently to play, a battle was begun, and in the pursuit Asahel, the brother of Joab, was slain by Abner (ii, 8-32). It appears that a border warfare was waged steadily, the house of Saul gradually losing ground. The climax came as a result of a quarrel between Abner and Ishbaal, resulting in Abner's defection. Joab discovered that Abner was likely to have high command in the army as a reward of his treachery, and he slew him under the guise of blood revenge on account of the killing of Asahel (ii, 23). David composed a lament over Abner, and by thus disavowing any share in his murder further won the favor of the Israelites (iii, 33 f.).

The way was opened to David by the timely assassination of Ish-baal by two villians, whose sole purpose apparently was to earn a rich reward from David. Their pay was their execution (c. iv). As Israel was now without a king or a general, and as the land was overrun with the Philistines, it was natural for the Israelites to turn to the one man who had showed competency in both peace and war. A treaty was made, and as David accepted the terms he was anointed king of Israel, and thus a sort of dual monarchy was established (v, 1-5).

It would be interesting to know what the terms of that treaty were. From the action of the northern tribes at a later time (see 1 Ki. xii, 3 ff.), it is plain that they had established a constitutional monarchy. The subsequent history shows that the union between Judah and Israel was never very close.

For seven years David had ruled in Hebron, but now that his empire extended so far to the north, a more central capital was requisite. Jerusalem was by its situation the strongest city of the country, and its situation was ideal as it was on the border between Israel and Judah. Moreover, David was too strong now to permit a foreign clan to hold an important city in the very heart of his land. The city was captured and became the seat of the house of David as long as it endured, and a centre of religious interest to all the world. The king now turned his attention to the Philistines, and in two vigorous campaigns, which are but meagerly described, cleared the land of its ancient enemy (v, 6-25).

There follows a long story of David's bringing the ark to Jerusalem. The ark had been left at the house of Abinadab twenty years before (1 Sam. vii, 1 f.). It was a much-esteemed object, and David desired its presence in his new capital. The first attempt resulted in disaster, Uzzah, one of the king's company, being killed in some accident, though the details are not given with much fullness. A second attempt, the account of which reveals much of the later point of view, in which the Levites figure prominently, is successful (c. vi).

In c. vii there is the beautiful story of David's proposal to build a temple to Jahveh, a project which Nathan the prophet commended at first, but later disapproved. There is a good deal of the deuteronomic coloring in the passage as it stands. The real point of the passage is God's promise to build David a house. It may be an old story worked over to make it fit the theory of the preparation for the Solomonic temple.

There follows a summary account of David's wars (c. viii). It appears that David's ambition was not satisfied with the land of Judah and Israel, and so he began to extend his borders. Philistia, Moab, Syria, and Edom were successively conquered; and thus the Hebrew kingdom reached its greatest power under the very king who established it.

5. *David's decline* (2 Sam. ix-xx).— Many of David's acts are susceptible of an explanation from either

a good or an evil motive. Thus his discovery of Meribaal, or Mephibosheth, and bringing him to his court (c. ix), might be due to the old affection for Jonathan, or to his desire to have the only known survivor of the house of Saul virtually a prisoner. Perhaps in all these cases the king should be given the benefit of the doubt.

Ammon had not yet been acquired by David, possibly some friendly relations of earlier days hinted at here (x, 2) had forbidden a conquest. But the ill treatment of David's ambassadors, whose persons have always been sacred, made a *casus belli*, and Joab soon conquered the land and shut its king up in Rabbah, his chief city, which was closely besieged. The story of this Ammonite war is now mixed up with one of the darkest crimes in Hebrew history. David's lust for a beautiful woman sweeps him into the crime of adultery. He makes the unsuspecting husband drunk in his endeavor to cover up the evidence of his wrong, and when he finds that the brave warrior will not lie in bed while his general and the ark are in the open field, he sends Uriah back with orders that he be placed in a hazardous position where he is sure to be killed (c. xi). Joab was shrewd enough to discover that David had a motive for Uriah's death; but it was Nathan the prophet who discovered the whole story and administered a stinging rebuke to the king in the form of a parable. It is typical of the Jewish theology that the death of the child of David's crime was interpreted as the divine punishment.

There is further evidence that David was losing his hold on the business of the state, in that Joab must threaten him to constrain him to come to the front and be present at the fall of the capital of Ammon (xii, 26 ff.).

Crime and trouble multiply at David's court. Amnon rapes his half-sister Tamar, and two years later is assassinated by her brother Absalom, and the latter is obliged to flee to Syria, the home of his mother (c. xiii). Joab is now all powerful at David's court, and with the aid of a wise woman from Tekoah secures the recall of Absalom and his reconciliation with his father (c. xiv).

The rebellion of Absalom occupies more space in the books than any other event in David's reign. Chapters xv-xix are devoted to it exclusively, and cc. xiii f. may well be regarded as an introduction. A breach had been made between Absalom and his father. After the death of Amnon, he was the heir apparent to the throne. David was getting old, and there would seem to be no use in forcing matters. Absalom's course was probably determined by his knowledge of the scheme of Bathsheba to secure the succession for her son Solomon. There is no evidence of that plot at this period, but it comes out clearly a little later, and its existence at this time supplies a motive for Absalom's course.

Absalom went to Hebron to inaugurate his rebellion, because there would be defection among the Judeans on account of the removal of the capital from

that place. But it was not the Judeans alone that flocked to the rebel standard. It is an amazing fact that the revolutionary spirit swept over the whole country, so that David did not dare trust himself in Jerusalem, or anywhere west of the Jordan. The disaffection towards David was very widespread,—further evidence of the decline of his power. Indeed, Absalom's popularity was made possible by David's indifference to the welfare of his people.

The throne was saved for David by diplomacy. David owed his life neither to Joab nor to his other efficient generals, but to Hushai the Archite, who assumed the rôle of spy at Absalom's court. Had Ahithophel's counsel to pursue David quickly (xvii, 1-3) been followed, it is probable that the rebellion would have succeeded. Ahithophel realized that all was lost the moment Hushai's dilatory tactics were adopted (xvii, 7 ff.), and he went to his home and hanged himself (xvii, 23).

Absalom had neglected the east-Jordan country, and there David found loyal supporters. Under his three capable generals an army was soon mustered and equipped for war. When finally Absalom crossed the Jordan and battle was joined in the "forest of Ephraim" (xviii, 6), his ill-organized forces were no match for Joab's veterans, and with the death of Absalom, the rebellion quickly ended. The quarrel between Judah and Israel over David's return (xix, 9 ff.) is additional evidence of the lack of unity in the state. Another incident connected with the war was the doubt

about the loyalty of Meribaal. David at first accepted the statement of Ziba that his master was watching an opportunity for the restoration of the house of Saul (xvi 1-4), but later, when Meribaal reached him and told a story of Ziba's treachery (xix, 24 ff.), the king was led to compromise and restore half of the confiscated property to the grandson of Saul.

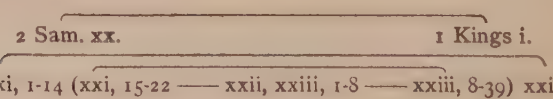
The dispute between Judah and Israel led to the rebellion of Sheba. Sheba was a Benjamite and apparently of the same clan as Saul, since Becorath (1 Sam. ix, 1) may be the same as Bichri (xx, 1). The vigorous measures of Joab soon brought this rebellion to an end. Incidentally, Joab seized the opportunity to strike down Amasa, who had been promised chief command by David (xix, 13; xx, 10).

6. *An appendix* (2 Sam. xxi-xxiv).—This is made up of miscellaneous material, but all is connected with the reign of David. There is first the story of the famine which led to the execution of seven descendants of Saul at the request of the Gibeonites (xxi, 1-14). Budde contends that this incident preceded the discovery of Meribaal (c. ix), since here it is easy to find seven of Saul's house, while in c. ix it is with difficulty that one is discovered. The rest of c. xxi is devoted to an account of the killing of four Philistines champions, one of whom is Goliath. This passage naturally connects closely with xxiii, 8 ff., the original sequence being broken by the insertion of two poems.

One of these poems (c. xxii) is another version of Ps. xviii, and is introduced here because it was supposed to belong to the story of David's wars. The other is called "David's last words" (xxiii, 17), a poem of poor quality, of late origin, and preserved in a very corrupt text.

The rest of c. xxiii contains a list of David's heroes. From this list and the brief records of some of their deeds, it is clear that David's warriors won their places by their deeds of valor. The last chapter (xxiv) is interesting from the light it throws on the theology of the time. A destructive pestilence is interpreted as a visitation from God because David had done wrong in making a census. The theology had changed radically when the chronicler wrote his history, for he substitutes Satan for Jahveh as the tempter of David (1 Chr. xxi, 1). This passage naturally connects with xxi, 1-14.

It is interesting to note the series of insertions in these closing chapters. The history goes straight from c. xx to 1 Ki. i. As supplementary material was added, it was invariably pushed into the middle rather than appended at the end. The original connections and the various insertions may be graphically represented thus, the backets, etc., showing allied parts:—



Kings

The books of Kings were regarded as one by the Hebrews, and they are one. The separation into two books is comparatively modern and is wholly arbitrary. The period covered is from the accession of Solomon to the fall of Jerusalem, 586 B.C. The date of Solomon can be pretty closely determined. The invasion of Shishak, described in 1 Kings xiv, 25-28, as ascertained from the Egyptian records, took place about 933 B.C. That catastrophe fell in the early part of the reign of Rehoboam. As Solomon reigned forty years (1 Ki. xi, 42) his rule began about 970 B.C. These books, therefore, cover a period of almost four hundred years.

The books of Kings are confessedly a compilation. The editor often refers to his sources thus: "the book of the acts of Solomon" (1 Ki. xi, 41); "the chronicles of the kings of Israel" (1 Ki. xiv, 19); "the chronicles of the kings of Judah" (1 Ki. xiv, 29). The last two sources are referred to very often, and they imply that in the author's time there were still extant both Judean and Israelite histories. It was the custom of the ancient kings to keep a record of the events of their reigns; one of the regular court officials being the scribe (2 Sam. viii, 17; 2 Ki. xviii, 18). The compiler does not attempt to give an account of the events which fell in each reign, but refers the reader to these histories in case he desires further information. Besides these sources the editor

also incorporates large sections from prophetic stories, especially the biographies of Elijah and of Elisha.

The book is fortunately complete in that it names every king both of Judah and of Israel, a paragraph being devoted to each sovereign. The stories are, however, very disproportionate, so that of some of the kings we have nothing but the frequently recurring formula, while of others we have a liberal account.

There is worked out a systematic chronological system. The advent of each king of Judah is marked by a cross-reference to the year of the contemporary king of Israel, and conversely. But if we make a table from these records, we soon reach confusion. Either the compiler was careless, or, more probably, the figures have not been correctly transmitted. For exact dates we are dependent upon the contemporary records of Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia. Fortunately these dates are trustworthy.

There are other sources from which further light on this period may be obtained. Thus there is a completely parallel history of this whole period in 2 Chronicles (see further in the section on Chronicles). There is a duplicate of 2 Kings xviii-xx in Is. xxxvi-xxxix. For a large part of this period the pre-exilic prophetic books afford much additional information.

The editor pronounces a judgment on the character of each of the kings enumerated. Of the kings of Israel his opinion is uniformly unfavorable. Of the Judean kings, he says of some that they did right in the eyes of Jahveh, of others that they did wrong.

He has made it possible to ascertain the basis of his judgment. It was purely a question of idolatry. Those kings who were faithful to Jahveh's temple are deemed good, and all others are denounced as bad. As the Israelite kings had nothing to do with the temple, they are condemned altogether. The author's judgment is vitiated by his failure to see things from a more comprehensive point of view.

The books may conveniently be divided into three sections: (1) *The reign of Solomon* (1 Ki. i-xi); (2) *The reigns of the kings of Israel and of Judah* (1 Ki. xii-2 Ki. xvii); (3) *The reigns of the kings of Judah* (after the fall of Samaria), (2 Ki. xviii-xxv).

1. *Solomon* (1 Ki. i-xi).—We note the relatively large space given to this reign. That was due to the interest in the building of the temple and to the preparation for the downfall of the Davidic empire in the rebellion of several subject peoples and in the secession of the northern tribes. The first part (cc. i f.), really contains the sequel to the history of David, and that fact is witness of the close connection between Samuel and Kings. The history is a direct continuation of that in 1 Samuel xx.

The rebellion of Adonijah suggests that the designation of Solomon as David's successor was due to the intriguing of the favorite Bathsheba, though it had the support of the great prophet Nathan. It may be that Absalom's rebellion had also been an effort to forestall Solomon's succession. David realized

that he was too old to cope with internal disorders, and so Solomon was crowned while his father was still alive. The dying bequest of David that Solomon should bring vengeance upon those enemies whom he had been unable to punish (c. ii) is told, not to discredit David, for it was no great wrong from the Semitic point of view, but to show the cleverness of the new king. It is an especially characteristic story that Solomon appoints conditions for Shimei's living which he is sure will not long be kept. The wise king gives the culprit rope so that he hangs himself.

The history of Solomon concerns itself with his famous wisdom, the splendor of his court, and his great building operations. The wisdom is recognized as the direct gift of God as an answer to the king's prayer (c. iii), though it had been demonstrated before the vision at Gibeon. The description of his court in c. iv shows that the king was aiming at a magnificence such as existed in the neighboring states like Egypt and Assyria, though his empire was comparatively small and poor.

Four chapters are devoted to Solomon's building operations: cc. v, vi, vii, 13-47, viii to the temple, and c. vii, 1-12 to the royal houses. A treaty was made with Hiram, king of Tyre, so that the famous cedar timber from Lebanon might be secured, and skilled carpenters obtained to prepare it. Solomon furnished a vast force of unskilled laborers, 180,000 men according to v, 13-15. Even if we suppose the figures to be exaggerated, there is still evidence of

the immense number of workmen; for the transporting of the lumber and stones was alone a big undertaking in a day when all this work must be done by hand.

From the full description in c. vi we cull some of the leading features of the temple: (1) Its dimensions in cubits were 60 x 20 x 30. (2) There was a porch across the front 10 cubits wide. (3) Chambers were built on three sides (all but the front). These were arranged in three stories, and the width of the rooms increased towards the top, because the wall of the temple proper was widest at the bottom. The floor beams of these rooms rested on the buttressing temple wall and were not let into it. (4) The stones were all dressed at the quarry, so that there should not be the sound of a tool at the temple itself. (5) The interior walls were covered with cedar, and the floor was made of cyprus. (6) At the rear end was an oracle. This was a cube, 20 cubits in each dimension. This was built for the ark of Jahveh, and the ark was guarded by two gigantic cherubim. (7) The interior of the oracle and of the temple, walls and floor, were overlaid with pure gold. (8) The construction of the temple was accomplished in seven years.

There was probably an early story of the buiding of the temple, but it has obviously been worked over by later hands. It certainly seems improbable that the whole building was lined with gold. The story of the consecration of the temple (c. viii) shows at many points ideas belonging to a later age than Solomon's.

The editor explains the downfall of David's empire as due to the fact that Solomon married many foreign wives, allowing each one to worship her own god, and that when he grew old "his wives turned away his heart after" the gods they served (xi, 1-8). The rebellions of the vassal nations followed as a punishment from Jahveh (xi, 9-25). The revolt of the northern tribes under Jeroboam, however, tells another story; but that really belongs to the next section.

2. *The history of the two kingdoms* (1 Ki. xii–2 Ki. xvii).—It is plain that the revolt of Jeroboam was first suggested by the prophet Ahijah (xi, 29 ff.). The prophets often engaged in political agitation; they were statesmen as well as seers. It seems certain that Jeroboam, who had won favor from Solomon, started rebellious proceedings in Solomon's lifetime, but they were suppressed and the rebel was obliged to flee to Egypt. When Rehoboam succeeded to the throne, the favorable moment came. The new king rules over Judah by right of his birth, but it is different in Israel, for Rehoboam must go to Shechem for separate coronation. The northern tribes have a treaty with the house of David (*cf.* 2 Sam. v, 3); and now they invoke their bill of rights and name the conditions under which they will accept Rehoboam as their king.

The terms they propose (xii, 5) reveal the true cause of the collapse of the Davidic empire. Solomon had been oblivious of the smallness and poverty of

his kingdom. Vast numbers had been impressed for his building operations; heavy taxes had been imposed to feed his immense army of workmen, to maintain the splendor of his court, and to support the large force of Phœnician carpenters. The people had been oppressed and impoverished to a point no longer endurable, and when Rehoboam, at the instigation of his youthful counsellors, refused their terms, the rule of the house of David over the tribes of Israel ended forever.

In spite of the prejudice of the compiler, for the greater part of this period, the interest lies in the north and not in Judah. Indeed we have no history of Judah except as it is mixed with the fortunes of Israel, as in the days of Jehoshaphat. For much of the period (930-722) there was war between Judah and Israel in which Judah is usually worsted and becomes practically a vassal of Israel. The implication that the separation was peaceful (xii, 20 ff.) is flatly contradicted by such passages as xiv, 30; xv, 6 f.; Is. vii, 17. It is clear that the preponderance of power lies in the north. The combined tribes of Israel were much stronger than the single tribe of Judah.

Yet the kingdom of Judah outlasted that of Israel by nearly a century and a half. Judah had the advantage of geographical situation. Israel was on the main highway between Egypt and Assyria, two powers always fighting for control of Palestine. Judah was isolated and could keep out of world politics. Judah had the advantage, too, of a capital easily defended

against an overwhelming force. Until the building of Samaria, Israel scarcely had a centre at all, and then the capital lacked the natural security of Jerusalem. Judah had the advantage, further, of a stable government. Through the whole period the house of David maintained its place, and was only once in any serious danger. In Israel there were eight different dynasties, so that there was a successful revolution on an average of every twenty-five years. Each revolution was the result of civil war, and these struggles made a heavy drain upon the resources of the kingdom.

In this section the compiler draws liberally from the prophetic biographies. In c. xiii we have really little else but the tale of the prophet who was slain because he did not strictly obey his instructions, but was led astray by an older seer who seems to have been the tool of the king. There is little in the history, save a list of the various kings and tales of revolution, until we reach the reign of Ahab, the son of the successful rebel Omri. About this dynasty of Omri we have considerable information, but it comes chiefly from the prophetic stories of Elijah and Elisha. On the religious side it is regarded as the dark age for Israel; but it is different from the political point of view, for the house of Omri was one of the ablest in the history of Israel, and it lasted for four generations. Some measure of its political strength was due to Jezebel, the Phœnician wife of Ahab. She made havoc of the worshippers of Jahveh, but she was

a capable queen, even though she was decidedly unscrupulous in her methods.

The Elijah stories (xvii-xix, xxi) are taken from a larger biography. The compiler apparently incorporated such parts as peculiarly testified to the weakness of Ahab and the wickedness of Jezebel. These stories are as graphic as can be found in any literature. Of course they reveal the characteristics of popular stories of their great hero rather than those of critical histories. The king is subordinate to the prophet, as in the later strand of the history of Samuel. The prophet's power is without limit: he is fed by the ravens; keeps meal in the barrel and oil in the jar; raises the dead to life; brings the miraculous fire from heaven; produces drought or deluge at his will; and disappears in the chariot of fire.

In the story of Ahab's reign there is introduced the disastrous attempt to wrest Ramoth-gilead from the Syrians (xx, xxii). This history is associated with a brief tale of a prophet, one of the worthiest men of God that ever wore the prophetic mantle. Micaiah, the son of Imlah, was brought from prison to testify to the will of Jahveh, and though he was importuned to follow the course of Ahab's subservient prophets and utter such an oracle as the king demanded, he preferred to go back to prison, even with his hard fare still further reduced (xxii, 27), rather than be disloyal to the truth.

The prophetic stories are continued in 2 Ki. i-ix, 10. There is the strange story of the last attempt to

seize Elijah (i, 9 ff.), after the prophet had declared that King Ahaziah would die because he had sought an oracle from Baalzebub, the god of Ekron, instead of consulting Jahveh, the God of Israel. There follows the story of Elijah's disappearance in the storm on the east of the Jordan, and his disciple's return alone with his master's mantle. Elisha now becomes the chief figure in the history. Elisha is quite a different character from his master. He seems to stand in quite close relationship with the king, whereas Elijah was always at war with Ahab. Elijah had steadily fought for the worship of Jahveh; Elisha appears but seldom as a national figure, and seems to take the Jahveh worship for granted. There are many tales of the so-called miracles of Elisha, and they have one of the most significant characteristics of those of our Lord. For they are not done to excite wonder and admiration and to prove the possession of divine power, but rather with a direct beneficent purpose. He discovers (or strictly, *uncovers*) water in the desert to save the allied armies (iii, 9-20); he furnishes aid to save a poor widow's children from bondage (iv, 1-7); he bestows the power of child-bearing upon the Shunammite, and restores life to the child stricken by the heat (iv, 8 37); he finds an antidote to the poisonous herbs (iv, 38-41); he heals the Syrian general of his leprosy, and thus saves King Joram from panic (v); he fishes up the borrowed ax which one of the prophets had lost in the water (vi, 1-7).

Elisha was vitally interested in the welfare of the state, and seems to have exerted a good deal of influence upon the king. He induced Joram to hold out against the Syrians until the women of Samaria were constrained to eat their children (vi, 24-vii). He had travelled to Damascus and he dimly foresaw the murder of Benhadad; it was apparently his purpose to soften the enmity of Hazael towards Israel (viii, 7-15).

The closing incident which the compiler furnishes of Elisha is the instigation of the revolution of Jehu, by which the house of Omri was overthrown and the house of David seriously endangered. The unusual space devoted to Jehu (cc. ix, x) is probably due to the fact that the writer sympathized with the rebel's bloody course because of his wholesale slaughter of the worshippers of Baal. The reign of Jehu enables us to get a controlling date. He paid tribute to Shalmanezer, the king of Assyria, in 842 B.C., and as his alliance was probably due to his desire for support in his revolution, the tribute must have been paid at the beginning of his reign.

With 2 Ki. xi we reach real Judean history again. The kingdom of Israel had gradually lost strength; and now comes the opportunity for Judah. But the period of development was immediately preceded by a very dark epoch in the history of Judah. Jehoram the king of Judah had married Athaliah the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel (viii, 16-18). When Athaliah's son Ahaziah, who had succeeded Jehoram, was slain

by Jehu (ix, 27 ff.), she seized the throne of Judah and attempted to put to death all the seed royal (xi, 1), Jehu having already slain forty-two of the house of David (x, 12-14). The only survivor of the house of David was a baby who was saved in this murder of the innocents by his aunt Jehosheba, who, according to 2 Chr. xxii, 11, was the wife of Jehoiada the priest. This child, Joash, was kept secretly in the temple for six years, and then the priest under the support of the temple guard brought him out and crowned him, putting Athaliah to death and thus narrowly saving the house of David. The description of the restoration of the temple shows what havoc the daughter of Jezebel had made with the worship of Jahveh.

In the reign of Amaziah, the son of Joash, there was an attempt to restore the complete independence of Judah, and possibly to secure revenge for Jehu's crimes; but the result of the war was disastrous to Judah (xiv, 8-14). Judah was still no match for the sister kingdom. Israel had long suffered from the encroachments of Syria, but in this period there was a respite, Jahveh raising up a savior for Israel (xiii, 5) in the person of Tiglath-pilezer III, the king of Assyria, who kept Damascus on the defensive. On that account Israel flourished again during the long and peaceful reign of Jeroboam II, the time of the prophet Amos.

The history continues with a record of royal names, interspersed with accounts of revolutions in Israel

until we reach the important Syro-Ephraimitish war (xvi, 5-9), in which Israel and Syria tried to force Ahaz of Judah into a defensive alliance against Assyria, the common enemy of all the western states. The disastrous result of this war prepared the way for the end of the Northern Kingdom. Shalmanezer came from Assyria and laid siege to Samaria. The city held out for three years, during which Shalmanezer died and Sargon succeeded him. He succeeded also to the siege and Samaria fell and thousands of the captured Israelites were transported to Assyria as exiles. Their places were taken by other captured peoples, so that the population of the north became a mixed race (xvii, 24 ff.), well known in the subsequent history as the Samaritans.

3. *The history of Judah alone* (2 Ki. xviii–xxv).— Nearly a century and a half (722-586) are covered in these few chapters. The greatest space is given to the reign of Hezekiah (xviii-xx), for he was a reformer and faithful to Jahveh; stories of the great prophet Isaiah are worked into the narrative; and to this reign belongs the great disaster which befell the army of Sennacherib, the king of Assyria (xix, 35). The story brings to our attention for the first time a new power, destined in the end to be the destruction of the Judean kingdom. Isaiah saw the danger and denounced Hezekiah's folly in disclosing to the ambassadors of Merodah-baladan, the king of Babylonia, the rich treasures of Judah (xx, 12-18).

Hezekiah was one of the best of Judean kings, but his son and successor Manasseh was one of the worst. It is significant that there is no prophecy from the period of his long reign; that his son Amon, named after an Egyptian diety, was assassinated after a reign of two years (xxi, 19-26), and that the long story of Josiah's reign (xxi, 1; xxiii, 30) is mainly a tale of an attempt to undo the mischief wrought by his immediate predecessors. The reign of Josiah is noteworthy for the appearance of the book of the law (xxii, 8-20, Deuteronomy in whole or in part; *cf.* notes on that book).

The rest of the history of Judah is a story of disasters. About the time of Josiah's death, 608 B.C., Nineveh fell and Babylon became the great world-power. In 604 B.C. Egypt was defeated at the battle of Carchemish by Nebuchadrezzar, and the hope of Judah for rescue from the Nile was blasted forever. Kings were carried from their thrones,—Jehoahaz to Egypt and Jehoiachin to Babylon,—but Judah refused to learn its lesson or to heed the pleas of God's prophets; rebellion continued until Nebuchadrezzar's patience was exhausted and Jerusalem was captured and destoyed. In 598 thousands of Jews had been deported, and with the fall of the city in the reign of Zedekiah many thousands more were taken away. Jerusalem was completely destroyed and remained a heap of ruins until the rebuilding of the temple by Zerubbabel, 520 B.C., and the restoration of the walls by Nehemiah, 444 B.C.

Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah

These four books are grouped together, because they have all come from the same hand and deal with the same subject, viz., the history of Israel from Adam down to the Greek period, *c.* 332 B.C. Ezra begins exactly where Chronicles leaves off; in fact a short passage is duplicated, 2 Chr. xxxvi, 22 f.=Ez. i, 1-3*a*. That the two books of Chronicles are one, like the two books respectively of Samuel and Kings, needs no demonstration, for it is self-evident. That Ezra and Nehemiah are from the same hand is universally accepted. The same style, the same ideas, the same point of view, are evident. The chronicler has unusually marked characteristics, and these abound in all of these books.

The chronicler is like the authors of other historical books in that he is primarily a compiler. He had abundant sources, and he uses these with great freedom. He takes long passages from the books of Samuel and Kings, but often modifies them in accordance with his own peculiar ideas. He professes to use many other sources, too: thus he refers to ancient records from which he derives his genealogies (1 Chr. iv, 22, v, 17); he names "the history of Samuel the seer" (probably our books of Samuel), "the history of Nathan the prophet," "the history of Gad the seer" (1 Chr. xxix, 29), and indeed many others, for which the reader is referred to Curtis's Introduction, § 6, *Int. Crit. Comm.*

There is great diversity of opinion as to the trustworthiness of this history. Many scholars regard the chronicler as a romancer and his history as worthless, even alleging that he deliberately invents the sources to lend authority to his narrative. It must be admitted that he often makes changes to suit his own conceptions, departing radically from the very sources he used. On the other hand, he has apparently preserved some material, like the memoirs of Nehemiah, which is of priceless value.

As the chronicler's history goes down to the Greek age, that gives the earliest possible date for these books. It is probable that his work was composed about the middle of the third century B.C. The supreme interest of the chronicler lies in the religious institutions. But he seems to have a bad faculty for chronology, and confuses dates sadly. He betrays a tendency to ascribe conditions of his own time to ancient days.

1. *Chronicles*

For the history before David, 1 Chr. i-ix, there is nothing but genealogical material, with occasional historical notes thrown in. He gives the names of the ancestors of Jacob (i, 1–ii, 2), and then the chiefs of the various tribes: Judah, ii, 3–iv, 23; Simeon, iv, 24-43; Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh (the tribes east of the Jordan), v; Levi, vi, 1-81; Issachar, vii, 1-5; Benjamin, vii, 6-12, viii, 1-40; Naphtali, vii, 13; Manasseh, vii, 14-19; Ephraim, vii, 20-29; Asher,

vii, 30-40. In this scheme Zebulun and Dan are not mentioned, but in the properly emended text, the former appears in vii, 6-11, and the latter in vii, 12. We note the disproportionate treatment,—Judah and Benjamin having great space because they were the tribes represented in the post-exilic community (Ezr. i, 5; Neh. xi, 4 ff.), and Levi receives special consideration beeause the author's chief interest lies in the ecclesiastical tribe.

The history of David is covered in 1 Chr. x–xxix. There are several characteristics of this treatment. It begins with David as king of Judah and has nothing of his earlier history. There is a pretty full account of his wars, and this story is all taken from Samuel. There is not a word about his crimes in connection with Bathsheba, nor about the rebellions of Absalom or Adonijah. In other words, the chronicler leaves out everything to David's discredit. The story of the bringing of the ark to Jerusalem is amplified over that in Samuel. But the greatest space is devoted to David's ordering of the ecclesiastical institutions. The chronicler makes David do much of the preparatory work for the building of the temple,—drawing the plans, cutting timber and hewing stones. David makes full prescriptions for the organization of the priests and Levites and assigns them their several duties. In these respects the chronicler departed from the story in Samuel and Kings, and his contentions have little authority. In Chronicles everywhere the priests, and especially the Levites—who are regarded

always as a separate order—occupy a very prominent position.

The reign of Solomon is described in 2 Chr. i-ix. The material is much the same as that in Kings, though there is considerable amplification in the details of the temple. The chronicler narrates Solomon's visit to the high-place at Gibeon, but takes out the sting by saying that the Tent of Meeting was there (i, 3), thus making it a legitimate place for worship. The responsibility for the collapse of the Davidic empire is quite removed from Solomon's shoulders. There is not a word about the various rebellions of the subject peoples as in 1 Ki. ii; nor is there a hint of Solomon's idolatry in connection with his foreign wives. On the contrary, the king acts most righteously in this respect, for he builds a house for his Egyptian wife, in order that the holy "city of David" might not be contaminated by the presence of a heathen (viii, 11).

This brings us to the period of Jeroboam's rebellion and to the history of the separate kingdoms. But Chronicles becomes a history of Judah alone. There is no history of Israel any more than there is a history of Edom or Assyria. Israel is only mentioned occasionally when it is necessary as a part of the history of Judah. Even then the relations of the two kingdoms take on a different aspect from that revealed in Kings. Judah is put to the worse in one instance, in the time of Amaziah—the records were too plain to ignore that—but an adequate cause is found, not in the superior power of

the Northern Kingdom, but in Amaziah's devotion to the conquered gods of Edom (xxv, 14-20).

This one victory is offset by a tale of a disastrous defeat of Israel by Abijah, in which a half million Israelites were slain (xiii, 13). It is related, further, that there were at various times defections of the Israelites (xv, 9; xxx, 18 f., xxxv, 18), the men from the north coming to Judah because of their devotion to Jahveh. The story of Micaiah, the son of Imlah, is reproduced in full, and is almost verbatim the version in 1 Ki. xxii, even to the excerpt from the book of Micah (xviii, 27). The chronicler would naturally approve of a story in which the Judean king insists upon an oracle from a prophet of Jahveh, in which disaster is predicted for Ahab, and in which the ominous prediction is fulfilled to the letter.

2. *Ezra-Nehemiah*

For these books the chronicler, who it must be remembered was the compiler, had several sources, though these have not survived independently. In the first place there are three Aramaic documents: (1) The correspondence with King Artaxerxes, about the building of the walls (Ezr. iv, 7-24*a*), in which the king directs those who complained of the activity of the Jews to put a stop to their work. (2) The Aramaic account of the rebuilding of the temple (Ezr. iv, 24*b*–vi, 18), a parallel to Ezr. iii, 1–iv, 3. (3) The firman of Artaxerxes authorizing Ezra to go to Jerusalem (Ezr. vii, 12-26).

Then there are the memoirs of Ezra and of Nehemiah. Some scholars have denied the genuineness of Ezra's memoirs. My study[6] has led me to believe that we have preserved a short section which has come from Ezra's own hand. The authentic memoirs are Ezr. vii, 27 f.; viii, 15-19, 21-25, 28 f., 31 f., 36; ix, 1-11*a*, 13-15. That Nehemiah left some personal records is accepted by every critic, though the extent of his memoirs is not as great as has usually been supposed. These sections, however, surely come from the patriot's hand: Neh. i, 1-4; i, 11*b*–ii, 7; ii, 9*b*-20; iii, 3–vii, 5*a*; xiii, 6-31. It is probable that there were other sources, for some of the material is certainly composite, the chronicler having worked over the sources he used, and leaving so many traces of his own hand that many scholars have supposed the whole to be his composition.

The period covered by these books is a long one, beginning with Cyrus's conquest of Babylon, 538 B.C., and covering about two centuries. There is no attempt to give a connected history, for a careful reading shows that only a few events are described. These events will be discussed in order.

1. *The return of the exiles* (Ezr. i).—Cyrus issued a decree authorizing the exiles to return to Jerusalem and rebuild the temple (i, 2-4, and *cf.* the duplicate and different version of the edict in the Aramaic

[6] See my work, *Ezra-Nehemiah* (*Int. Crit. Comm.*).

document, Ezr. vi, 3-5). A company of exiles under the leadership of Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah, made the journey to Judah, carrying with them the vessels which Nebuchadrezzar had plundered from the temple. This is all we know about Jewish history in the reign of Cyrus, for Ezr. ii (of which Neh. vii, 6-73 is a duplicate) contains a census of the people made long after this day.

2. *The rebuilding of the temple* (Ezr. iii, 1–iv, 3, and the Aramaic version, iv, 24*b*–vi, 18).—We reach now the reign of the Persian King Darius I, 521-485 B.C., and the governorship of Zerubbabel. The chronology is determined absolutely by the support of 1 Esdras, an important help in the study of this period. This book has been too long neglected, presumably because it is contained in the Apocrypha. 1 Esdras is an independent translation of the whole of Ezra (except iv, 6) and of Neh. viii, 1-12. In many places it has preserved a better text than that in our Hebrew Bible, and it is far more valuable than the other Greek versions.

The Hebrew text of this section gives no hint of any more work on the temple than laying the foundations. It was the theory of the compiler that the temple was begun in the reign of Cyrus, the work stopped by Artaxerxes, and resumed under Darius (iv, 24; v, 16). This theory is wrong; for we have contemporary testimony that Zerubbabel laid the foundations and completed the building (Zech. iv, 9).

The text of Ezr. iii, 8-10, is hopelessly corrupt, but I have reconstructed the passage with the help of 1 Esdras, and have shown that it contains an account of the building of the temple (for details see my Commentary, *in loc. cit.*).

This section introduces the Samaritans, who are kindly disposed towards the Jews, and offer to aid them in rebuilding the temple. The proposal was rejected by Zerubbabel and his priestly associate Jeshua, and thus we have the beginning of the bitter hostility between these two peoples.

3. *The rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem* (Ezr. iv, 7-24*a*; Neh. i–vii, 5; xii, 27-43).—I pass by the fragment, Ezr. iv, 4-6, which belongs to the reign of Xerxes, 485-464 B.C. The walls were restored in the time of Artaxerxes I, 464-424 B.C.

The temple had been completed about 515 B.C., but Jerusalem was nevertheless almost without people or houses (Neh. vii, 4). It was a perilous place of residence as long as it was devoid of protecting walls. The inhabitants were helplessly at the mercy of any marauding band. The first attempt to restore the walls was made by a company of pilgrims who came to Jerusalem early in the reign of Artaxerxes (Ezr. iv, 12). Their neighbors of Samaria complained to the Persian king that if the walls should be rebuilt, Judah would rebel. The king thereupon ordered the work to stop (Ezr. iv, 7-24*a*).

Nehemiah heard of this failure, and being an officer of the Persian court, an opportunity came to him to ask permission to rebuild Jerusalem, "the city of his fathers' sepulchres." Artaxerxes appointed him governor of Judah, and sent an ample military escort with him. The work of Nehemiah was hampered greatly by the Samaritans, who used ridicule and threats and treachery and open war to stay the restoration of the walls. Nehemiah wrote the story of this opposition himself, and he is the master of a very terse and vigorous style. He speaks a great deal about his enemies,—Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem,—and really mentions the walls but incidentally. Nehemiah was a man of great resourcefulness, and he met and foiled every attempt of his foes. The walls were quickly rebuilt, according to Neh. vi, 15, in the amazingly short period of fifty-two days, and then were dedicated by elaborate ceremonies, consisting mainly of a parade and the offering of sacrifices.

The walls being completed, the patriot addressed himself to other grave problems: procuring a population for the now protected city (xi, 1 f.); releasing the poor from their oppressive burdens (c. v); and, in his second administation, enforcing a decent observance of the Sabbath, procuring the payments for the Levites, stopping the marriages with foreigners, etc. (xiii, 6-31). To Nehemiah's time may belong x, 28-39, an account of a popular movement to make suitable provision for the temple.

4. *The mission of Ezra* (Ezr. vii-x; Neh. viii).—The career of Ezra must be placed in the reign of Artaxerxes II, 404-359 B.C. (as I have tried to show at length in the *Int. Crit. Comm.*). At all events, Ezra must come later than Nehemiah. In spite of the comparative space given to this hero, we know little about him; for Ezr. vii, viii are devoted to the gathering of a caravan and the journey to Jerusalem, and cc. ix, x to the wholesale dissolution of the marriages with foreigners.

Ezra's story is continued in Neh. viii, which should be joined directly to Ezra x, as it is in 1 Esdras. Here we have a rather confused and general account of the promulgation of the law, and this is regarded as the real objective of his mission. But the records scarcely bear out that contention. In his own memoirs the single reference to the purpose of his return to Jerusalem is in vii, 27, where it is "to glorify the house of Jahveh." Ezra's great aim was the development of a proper worship at the temple, and if he established the law, it must have been done for the sake of the temple.

Neh. ix has nothing to do with Ezra, for it is mainly a long, stereotyped prayer, said to have been uttered by the Levites. There are other parts of these books, but they consist mainly of genealogical and geographical lists, such as abound in the work of the Chronicles. These parts really throw no light on the history of the Persian period.

IV.

THE PROPHETIC LITERATURE

THERE are two distinct classes of prophets in the Old Testament: those great men whose writings have come down to us, and whose works will receive consideration in this chapter, and the prophetic guilds, called technically "the sons of the prophets," who first appear, so far as our records show, in the time of Samuel. From this title we conclude that there was a body of disciples attached to most of the leading prophets, and that their office was that of assistants. For a fuller study of this order see my *Hebrew Prophets*, c. iv.

Of the prophetic leaders there were doubtless scores whose works have not been preserved, whose names even are not known. Elijah was looked upon as the greatest of all the prophets, yet his messages were never collected, and we have only sporadic utterances preserved in the biographical fragments embodied in the book of Kings. Probably the large majority of these men spoke the words of the Lord; but their speeches were never put on record either by themselves or by any of their disciples. We are fortunate indeed in having so much preserved, although it is probably but a small part of the whole. It is almost certain that we have only incomplete records of the messages of those prophets whose works have survived. Isaiah's career as a prophet extended over at least

forty years. All the genuine Isaianic prophecies preserved could be read in something like an hour. It must be plain, then, that we have only a few specimens of the works of this great man of God.

In Jeremiah there is an interesting story which shows how his utterances came to be put into writing. On account of the bitter persecution to which he had been subjected by King Jehoiakim, Jeremiah could no longer preach by word of mouth. He therefore dictated to his secretary Baruch a résumé of his prophecies from the beginning of his career down to that day, a period of more than twenty years. The object of this writing was the hope that the people who had ignored and forgotten the spoken word would listen to the written record read to them by Baruch (Jer. xxxvi). It may be that other prophets were moved to write by similar considerations.

The prophets we know were characterized by several marked features, a few of which may be suggested: (1) There was always a sense of being close to God and knowing the mind of God. Therefore they boldly prefaced their message with the phrase, "thus saith Yahweh." (2) They were preëminently men of their times. They appear to have had no interest in filling the office of the soothsayer by foretelling the future. They were concerned with the evil conditions of their own age, which they saw and which they deemed it their concern to remedy. (3) They were men of large vision, and could discern the signs of the times. They knew the relation of cause and effect, and saw

clearly the future outcome of present evils. (4) They were men moved preëminently by ethical considerations. In the pre-Christian world there is no comparable body of moral teaching. The sins which they denounced were not violations of some peculiar national laws and customs, but the grievous ethical offences, injustice, dishonesty, oppression of the poor and weak. (5) They were deeply religious. They taught that the people were absolutely in God's hands, and that God would act in no arbitrary way, but in accord with well-known principles. They emphasized the many gracious acts that God had done for His people, and proclaimed that He was ever eager to do more if the attitude of the nation was such as to make it possible.

The prophetic books are divided into the major and the minor prophets. The former class comprises Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, arranged therefore in chronological order; and the later class includes all the others, of which (excluding Daniel) there are twelve. The term *minor* applied to these prophets is misleading, because the connotation of the term has changed. As originally employed, the word referred merely to the relative size of the books; but *minor* now almost inevitably conveys the idea of inferior; and certainly Hosea is not inferior to Ezekiel, or Amos to Jeremiah. It is a protest against this conception which presumably constrained G. A. Smith to entitle his commentaries (in the Expositor's Bible) *The Book of the Twelve Prophets.*

The arrangement of the twelve is peculiar. Roughly, they follow a chronological order, but this is not exact; Amos, who is the first, stands third. The size of the book apparently exercises some influence, for thus we can explain Hosea's precedence of Amos, though going only by headings he must have always been known to be later. But Obadiah, the shortest of all, precedes both Jonah and Micah, and Haggai comes before Zechariah, though it is only one-fifth as big. Probably the third controlling factor was the order in which the books gained canonical recognition; a matter about which we have almost no knowledge.

To awaken one's interest it is well to note a fine appreciation of Woodberry's: "One who has read the Hebrew prophets, the Greek dramatists and Shakespeare has a view of the essentials of life in its greatness that requires little supplementing; his reading thereafter is for definition and detail, for the temporal modeling of life in different periods and races and nations, for the illumination of it in exceptional men and women and in high types of character or romantic circumstances; it is, in general, rather verification of old truth than anything new that he finds."[1]

Isaiah

There is a big difference between the book of Isaiah and the writings of the prophet Isaiah. When we study the personality of the prophet, we are not get-

[1] *The Appreciation of Literature*, quoted by Fowler, *The Literature of Ancient Israel*, p. 106.

ting much light on the author of this book, for there is but a fraction of the whole which has come from the hand of the son of Amos. This will appear as we glance at the component parts. The book divides naturally into seven parts: (1) cc. i-xii; (2) xiii-xxiii; (3) xxiv-xxvii; (4) xxviii-xxxiii; (5) xxxiv, xxxv; (6) xxxvi-xxxix; (7) xl-lxvi.

Cc. xxxvi-xxxix is really a part of the book of Kings, for except for the song of Hezekiah (xxxviii, 9-20), it is a duplicate of 2 Kings xviii-xx; cc. xl-lxvi belongs to the exilic period; cc. xxxiv f. are later than Isaiah. Therefore, reckoning by chapters, there is exactly half of the book which could not possibly have come from this prophet's pen. Another section goes out bodily, for cc. xxiv-xxvii are not Isaianic; also in the large section in cc. xiii-xxiii there is but little which can be surely claimed for Isaiah. Therefore the main Isaianic prophecies are contained in two comparatively short sections of the book, numbered 1 and 4 above; manifestly this prophet, about whose name such a vast amount of fine prophecies have clustered, must have been highly esteemed by the Jewish literary collectors.

Isaiah was a Jerusalemite, and apparently had been highly educated. His supreme interest, so far as we can gather from his surviving works, was in the welfare of the State. In some respects he was almost more a statesman than a prophet; the truth is that no one can be either prophet or statesman without being to a degree the other too. No more can be said about Isaiah here; but our brief study of his prophe-

cies will show us that there is much biographical material in his writings. We shall study the book by sections as outlined above.

1. *Cc. i-xii.*—This part must have been published originally as an independent collection, for it has a heading appropriate to just this part. The subject is given as "Judah and Jerusalem," and that would not apply to cc. xiii-xxiii. Then an editor has added some prophecies of hope at the close to give the collection a better ending. As c. vi describes the prophet's call we naturally turn to that first.

Isaiah had apparently kicked against the goad for a long time. His scruples were based on his sense of personal unfitness (v. 5). These were overcome in the year of Uzziah's death (740 B.C.) by a vision of Jahveh which he saw in the temple. In his report of the vision—for the chapter is autobiographical—he discloses his fundamental conception of God, that He is absolutely holy (v. 3). The scruples of the prophet are overcome by the removal of his personal defects; he too must get the beam out of his own eye before essaying to cast the mote from his brother's eye. Then at last he was ready to respond to the divine call for volunteers and to undertake the heart-breaking task which lies in the office of every true man of God.

C. i is quite independent, and is usually assigned to the invasion of Sennacherib, 701 B.C., because of the desperate condition of the city and state (vv. 7-9). The religious condition is quite as bad as the polit-

ical (vv. 3-5, 15-17, 21-23); for the religious system in vogue was quite worthless in the eyes of Jahveh (vv. 10-15).

Cc. ii-iv group together and constitute really a single prophecy with its own heading. It begins with a beautiful Messianic oracle (vv. 2-4, a duplicate occurring in Mic. iv, 1-3), which is regarded as a later addition. It certainly has a very different tone from the rest of the prophecy. The passage pictures a glorious future in which Zion will be a world-center at which all nations shall worship; and in which there will be no war, disputes being settled by divine arbitration. The oracle of Isaiah then begins with an indictment of the people because of their idolatry and wickedness, and a prediction of the fearful punishment which shall come. There is much about the weakness and corruption of the court in c. iii, suggesting the time of Ahaz over whom women exercised a dominating influence. The vanity and frivolity of the women are mercilessly exposed. C. iv, 2-6, is probably a later appendix to relieve the dark picture of the original prophecy. That plan of compilation is natural for a later editor; for while Isaiah's strong denunciation was the necessary word in his time, the prophecy would be better adapted for another period by the addition of a message of hope.

In c. v there are three parts: the fragment of a vineyard song and its application to Israel, vv. 1-7; the six woes, on the passion for wealth, the drunken revellers, the skeptics, the confusion of morals, con-

ceit, and the grafting judges, vv. 8-25*a*; and a strophe of a poem, vv. 25*b*-30, the major part of which is in c. ix.

Cc. vii-ix, 7, contain a series of prophecies on the Syro-Ephraimitish war, 734 B.C. The Assyrians were threatening the Palestinian states, and the latter were endeavoring to form a coalition so as to offer some effective resistance. Syria and Ephraim combined and sought Ahaz's support. The king declined to join the group, and the dual alliance began war on Judah, determining to crush Ahaz and put a Syrian, the son of Tabeel (vii, 6), on the throne, who would be subservient to their plans.[3] In this crisis, which caused a panic in Judah, Ahaz had fallen back upon a common device and had made a secret treaty with the common enemy, the king of Assyria. To this policy Isaiah was bitterly apposed, and the main purpose of this group of prophecies was to induce the king to rely on Jahveh and not on Assyria.

The prophet bases his efforts upon his firm conviction that the alarm of Judah is causeless, since the dual alliance is comparable to two stumps of smoking firebrands (v. 4); that is, their power is burnt out. As the king is unmoved he offers to work any sign, however hard, as proof that he speaks the word of God. When the king hypocritically refuses to accept the offer, Isaiah declares that the sign will appear, in that a child Immanuel will shortly be born, and before that

[3] See also 2 Ki. xv, 37; xvi, 5-16; 2 Chr. xxiii, 5-27.

child shall be old enough to recognize the difference between good and evil, Syria and Ephraim will be no more.

As the king is still obstinately set upon his own scheme, the prophet sets up a tablet in a public place on which he inscribes *Maher-shalal-hash-baz*,—"speedy the spoil, quick the prey,"—symbolizing the overthrow of the two allies. About a year later a child is born to the prophet and he gives him the name still standing upon the tablet, to reiterate his prediction of the downfall of the two powers. As his efforts prove vain, there is nothing left but to point out the fatal results of Ahaz's policy. The king of Assyria will indeed destroy the allies (Syria fell in 732 B.C. and Ephraim ten years later), but he will sweep on into Judah like an overwhelming deluge.

There is appended a Messianic passage (ix, 1-7), picturing the reëstablishment of the house of David, and therefore obviously of the exilic period. As cc. vi and viii are in the first person, it is held that c. vii was originally a part of Isaiah's autobiography. We note the large place children occupy in this section. Isaiah takes *Shear-jashub* ("a remnant will return") with him for his first interview with the king; two other children are introduced to show how soon the enemy will be destroyed. His own children are signs in Israel of the presence of the word of God (viii, 18).

The section, ix, 8–x, 4; v, 25 *b*-30, is a poem in five stanzas, each being marked by the refrain, "for all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still" (ix, 12, 17, 21; x, 4; v, 25[4]).

[4] In this instance the refrain stands at the beginning of the stanza, probably by an accidental transposition.

The poem describes a series of disasters which have befallen the people, especially of the Northern Kingdom, covering invasions from without and wars between the two kingdoms. The refrain suggests that these calamities do not mark the end, but that Jahveh will send more suffering still. The prophecies may well belong to the Syro-Ephraimitish war.

In x, 5-34, there is a prophecy based on one of the Assyrian invasions, probably that of Sennacherib in 701 B.C. The enemy is conceived as an instrument of God, appointed to inflict necessary punishment. The Assyrian failed to realize the limitations of His authority, and purposed to satisfy his greed for plunder and destruction. God's hostility is therefore aroused towards His chosen agent, and so, in front of the city he was sent to chastise, he will meet his own disastrous fate.

C. xi is Messianic, picturing the rise of a new king of the Davidic stock, whose rule shall be characterized by wisdom and by righteousness. The result will be an era of universal peace, symbolized by the wild animals living together and free from their usual predatory instincts. There will follow the return of the exiles both of Judah and of Israel, who shall combine to subjugate the neighboring peoples, and thus restore the old empire of David. The passage is obviously as late as the exile, as the monarchy is no more, and the people are scattered among the foreign nations. Marti thinks that vv. 10-16 is as late as the Maccabean uprising.

C. xii is made up of two psalms of praise, vv. 1 f., vv. 3-6, sung by the exiles rescued from their bondage. It serves as a fitting conclusion to the series of prophecies in cc. i-xii; for when the words of the old prophets were collected for future use, in the days when there were no living prophetic voices, the editors liked to secure for every collection a hopeful ending. Every true religion must have a note of optimism.

2. *A group of prophecies against foreign nations* (xiii-xxiii).—The collection was evidently made on the basis of subject-matter rather than authorship. The material comes from different ages, and consequently from different authors, but the subject is the same throughout. There is no general heading, but most of the oracles have titles of their own. The prophecies generally describe the downfall of the various peoples, all of them the enemies of the Jews. The authors usually reveal an intimate knowledge of the nations denounced.

a. Against Babylon (xii, 1–xiv, 23).—Jahveh is mustering a host for the overthrow of Babylon, the oppressor of his people, and now holding the Jews in bondage (xiv, 7). In xiv, 9 ff. there is a picture of the life in Sheol, the dead rousing from their sleep to gloat over the arrival of the common enemy. As the overthrow is ascribed to the Medes (xiii, 17), and as there is no reference to Cyrus, the oracle is probably to be dated shortly before 549 B.C.

b. Against Assyria (xiv, 24-27).—The Assyrian shall be destroyed in the land of Judah, and the hand of Jahveh will administer the blow. The most natural reference is to the annihilation of the army of Sennacherib in 701 B.C. (2 Ki. xix, 35 f.). The piece is Isaianic.

c. Against Philistia (xiv, 28-32).—Here we find a heading with a date; unfortunately we do not know the years of Ahaz's death, but it was probably before 722 B.C. The Philistines were vainly rejoicing over the death of a hostile king, possibly Sargon, though others think Ahaz. The prophet, who may well be Isaiah, assures them that there is no occasion for joy, as the new enemy arising fom the old will be still more hostile to them. The messengers of v. 32 were probably ambassadors seeking an alliance with Judah, a plan sure to be opposed by Isaiah.

d. Against Moab (xv, xvi).—There is a long prophecy declaring the downfall of Moab, and revealing a good deal of sympathy for the doomed people (xv, 5; xvi, 11). At the end is an epilogue (xvi, 13 f.), which is obviously an addition to an older prophecy, and which asserts that the long-delayed fulfilment of the prediction is now at hand. Many have supposed the epilogue to be Isaianic, and the rest an older oracle quoted by him. Marti regards the whole prophecy as a late production. There is not very much data for an exact determination of the date.

e. Against Damascus [and Ephraim], for the heading as it stands does not comprehend the whole proph-

ecy (xvii, 1-11).—The destruction of both nations is described, and there will be left but insignificant remnants. As there is no indication of hostility towards Judah, the passage is dated before the Syro-Ephraimitish war. But it is at most only a fragment, and the natural place is in connection with that troubled time.

f. The repulse of the enemy from Jerusalem (xvii, 12-14).—The foe is not named. It is natural to think, with Driver, of the invasion of Sennacherib; and yet this passage is scarcely suitable for that event, for the prophecies about Sennacherib all predict his destruction, while in this oracle the enemy are supposed to retreat.

g. Against Ethiopia (xviii).—Apparently the oracle is directed against the efforts of Hezekiah, who was endeavoring to meet the shock of Assyrian invasions by forming alliances with the Assyrians' enemies. The time will come, according to this prophet, when Ethiopia shall seek aid from Zion.

h. Against Egypt (xix).—Civil war will result in disaster to Egypt and the rise of a cruel lord. Her counsellors are foolish and fail to perceive that Jahveh is the one they should fear. The language of Canaan will be spoken in Egypt, and an altar to Jahveh will be built there. There will be a triple alliance of Egypt, Assyria and Israel, all becoming one people and worshipping one God.

This is truly a remarkable prophecy, having a radically different tone from the other oracles concerning

the nations. It is pretty difficult to find a satisfactory date. It is fairly certain, however, that the passage comes from another hand than Isaiah's, for he was consistently opposed to all alliances.

i. (xx).—This is a bit of biography. In 711 B.C., when the Assyrian general, the Tartan, captured Ashdod, Isaiah was commanded to walk the streets of Jerusalem for three years in the meagre garb of a slave, as a sign of the nakedness which will come upon Egypt and Ethiopia, and as a warning to Hezekiah not to depend upon those powers.

j. The willderness of the sea — Babylon (xxi, 1-10).—A further forecast of the fall of Babylon at the hands of Elam (the home of Cyrus) and Media. It is therefore closely connected with No. 1 above, but is probably a few years later. It is a fine passage.

k. On Dumah—Edom (xxi, 11 f.).— This is a mere fragment, and barely intelligible.

l. Against Arabia (xxi, 13-17). — One Arabian tribe has succored others that were hard pressed, but within a year the tribe of Kedar will be reduced to impotence. There is nothing to indicate the occasion of this prophecy or the reason for its incorporation in the collection.

m. (xxii).—A prophecy dealing with the internal affairs of Judah, and so out of place in connection with the foreign oracles. The first part (vv. 1-14), pictures a terrible siege of Jerusalem, in which houses were selected by lot to be torn down to provide material for repairing the breached walls. The second part

is an attack upon Shebna, one of the high officers of the court, resulting in his being replaced by Eliakim (*cf.* Is. xxxvi, 3; xxxvii, 2). The cause of Isaiah's animosity was probably Shebna's pro-Egyptian policy. The time is the Invasion of Sennacherib.

n. Against Tyre (xxiii).—The occasion of this prediction of the downfall of Tyre is uncertain. As a rich commercial city, it was coveted by all the marauding nations and was assailed many times. There is nothing to indicate the particular attack described here.

3. *The World Judgment* (xxiv-xxvii). — G. A. Smith says that these chapters "stand in the front rank of evangelical prophecy. In their experience of religion, their characterization of God's people, their expressions of faith, their missionary hopes of immortality, they are very rich and edifying" (*Book of Isaiah*, I, 431). The passage is apocalyptic, for the world is to be turned upside down. Out of the ruin the Jews will come forth safe and sound. The date is very uncertain, but the peculiar conceptions point to the post-exilic period.

4. *A group of prophecies dealing with the relations of Judah and Assyria* (xxviii-xxxiii).—The first three chapters are Isaianic, save for some interpolations, and the occasion seems to be Hezekiah's league with Egypt; called a "covenant with death and agreement with Sheol" (xxviii, 18). Here we have again the depicting of Israel's vices, and of the great dis-

tress which will fall upon Jerusalem, largely resulting from the false confidence in the Egyptian alliance. The direct divine overthrow of Assyria is foretold (xxxi, 8, which may be the basis for 2 Ki. xix, 35). C. xxxiii gives another picture of the Messianic times, one feature of which will be the righteous king (*cf.* xi, 1-8). Vv. 9-14 do not fit in with the rest, being a rebuke of the luxury-loving women, and reminding us of iii, 16–iv, 1. C. xxxiii is apocalyptic like cc. xxiv-xxvii. It is rather loose in connection, and resembles the prophecies of the post-exilic period.

5. *The future of Edom and Israel* (xxxiv, xxxv).—The oracle discloses the bitter feeling against Edom which is so conspicuous in Hebrew literature. A judgment from God is coming upon the whole world, but will be felt most heavily by Edom. The golden age will follow the judgment, in which Jahveh's ransomed exiles shall return to Zion. The feeling against Edom and the promise of a return fixes the exile as the earliest possible date. Marti assigns the passage to the second century.

6. *A history of a part of Hezekiah's reign* (xxxvi-xxxix).—This is a duplicate of 2 Ki. xviii-xx, and is put in this book because Isaiah figures in the incidents so prominently. The king is quite dependent upon the prophet who gives him consolatory messages in times of distress and heals him of disease when he is at death's door.

7. *Prophecies of the Restoration* (xl-lxvi).—This is one of the finest groups of prophecies in the wonderful Hebrew collection. The conception of God rises at times almost to an evangelical plane. The messages make a strong appeal to people of all ages because of the prominence of the note of hope. The purpose of these utterances is to cheer the spirits of a badly discouraged people.

Of late there has been a tendency among a few scholars to assign the chapters to a later date than has usually been accepted. It is held by some that the prophecies were spoken in Jerusalem rather than in Babylonia, and that the name of Cyrus was inserted by a later hand. The arguments are not convincing, and there seems to be no good reason for doubting that these prophecies really herald the end of the Babylonian exile. There is certainly no other period which they fit so well.

By the middle of the sixth century B.C., the Babylonian empire was reduced to a state of weakness, largely from internal causes. In 559 B.C. Cyrus became the king of Anzan. He was a man of extraordinary military genius and was a wise ruler. His own inscriptions show that his policy was to conciliate all conquered peoples. Indeed, his reputation preceded him to Babylon, and the people, weary with the Babylonian oppression, were ready to welcome him as their lord. He conquered this vast empire almost without striking a blow.

A man of God, having a large vision, and able to

discern the signs of the times, could easily perceive that Cyrus would never sheathe his sword until Babylonia was added to his domains. He was sure, further, from his knowledge of Cyrus' policy, that the moment Babylon fell, all the conquered peoples who had been transported to that empire would be free to return to their own lands. Those facts serve as the basis for one part of his message.

But there was a much more difficult task before this great unknown seer; for it was laid upon him to see that the Jewish people took advantage of the freedom when it came. We must remember that the Jewish colony had been in Babylonia for half a century. Practically all that had come from Judah as prisoners of Nebuchadrezzar were dead. All to whom the prophet spoke had been born and reared in a foreign land. Their homes and established occupations were in a prosperous country. It is natural that they would be reluctant to break up and go to a place strange to them and in which the conditions of life must for a time be very hard.

We learn from Ezekiel that before 586 B.C., the Jews in Babylon did not believe that Jerusalem could fall. When the catastrophe did come, the result was the profound discouragement of the people, leading to a relaxing of their zeal for Jahveh. Many of them entered a good deal into the religious life of the people around them, so that idolatry became one of the popular vices. These few facts will help in the understanding of the series of remarkable prophecies, the

first of which was spoken probably some ten years before Babylon fell (539 B.C.), and which extended over a period of several years. For some of the later chapters do seem to have been delivered in Jerusalem after the rebuilding of the temple (515 B.C.).

C. xl.—The prophet opens with a cry of comfort and good cheer, because God is about to do a great work for his people. Stress is laid upon the power of God, to which nothing can be compared. There is an attempt to meet the discouraged lament of the people that their way is hid from Jahveh (v. 27) with the fine message: "They that wait for Jahveh shall renew their strength."

C. xli.—The conquering career of Cyrus is pictured, and the prophet insists that the movement is instigated by God. Israel is the servant of Jahveh, and Jahveh will be with him and help him; whereas the enemies of God's people will perish. The barren and desolate land, probably Judah, will blossom and be fruitful again. The idols are invited to compete with God's seer in forecasting the good things that are to come.

C. xlii.—The servant is now a person, gently doing the work of a gracious God. A song is sung in praise of Jahveh because of his purpose to crush his enemies. Jahveh has long been under restraint so that he could do nothing for his people; for even his servant was blind and the people had suffered the inevitable consequences of their sins.

C. xliii.—But conditions are changed and God is now free to act, and He will bring back the exiles from the

ends of the earth. They will then be the witnesses of the grace and power of God. Bybylon's fall is not an accident of war, but is deliberately wrought for the sake of Israel. Yet Israel had done nothing to merit this favor, for they had made no offerings to God. Nevertheless He had blotted out their sins for His own sake.

C. xliv.—Jahveh created Israel from the beginning, and now the people would recognize their God, and they would see that he was the only God. The prophet pictures with fine satire the kind of gods that were worshipped in Babylonia. With great detail he shows how the carpenter selects a sound log and goes to work at it with his tools. He fashions a part of it into the figure of a man, and the waste pieces he uses for fuel to cook his food and to warm himself. Jahveh is the mighty redeemer of Israel, and now will fulfil the gracious promises that have been made. There is the specific promise that the ruined Jerusalem shall be inhabited again and the temple rebuilt.

C. xlv.—Cyrus who had already been called the shepherd of Jahveh (xliv, 28), is now named His *anointed*, His *Messiah*; and Jahveh has called him (even though he knew it not) for the sake of the good he would do to Israel. The people objected to a deliverer who was not of their race, but they are warned that the child dare not criticize what the father has begotten. Emphasis is laid upon the monotheistic doctrine which is more conspicuous in this prophetic collection than in any other part of the Old Testament, with the possible exception of the Elijah stories.

C. xlvi.—The gods of Babylon, Bel and Nebo, who have to be transported on the backs of animals, are contrasted with Jahveh, who has carried the nation of Israel from the beginning of their history. Nabonidus, the king of Babylon at this time, attempted to bring all the images of deities into his own city, partly for greater security against the anticipated attacks of Cyrus. In view of this fact the prophet's satire is obvious.

C. xlvii.—The virgin daughter of Babylon is jeered at on account of her impending fall; she shall wear the dress and do the work of a slave. She lorded it over God's people who were given into her hands for discipline, not for oppression.

C. xlviii.—The blow has now come, for in the succeeding chapters we have no more predictions of the fall of Babylon. The prophet emphasizes the evidential value of his now fulfilled predictions, not as indicative of his insight; but as proof of the power of God. An appeal is made to the exiles to return to their native land.

C. xlix.—The servant of Jahveh has been carefully preserved through a long period of distress, but now is called to act in order to bring Jacob back to God. There is also the presentation of a larger view, that the Gentiles also may be brought to accept Jahveh as their God. There is a beautiful picture of the blessings which God will shower upon his people. Such assurance is necessary, as Israel had so largely lost faith in Jahveh.

C. l.—There was never a permanent separation of Israel from Jahveh; for Jahveh neither divorced nor sold the faithless mother (*cf.* Hos. i-iii). The servant soliliquizes: Jahveh gives him wisdom and speech; he had easily endured persecution because of his confidence in the help of God.

C. li.—An appeal is made to the faithful to live worthily of their high origin. Jahveh made a great people out of Abraham, an individual: how much more shall be the splendor of Zion, now that a whole nation is called back to the holy hill. Jahveh is called upon to repeat some of the splendid favor shown to his people in the olden times. Israel is told to disregard the jeers of men, probably referring to those who sneered at the idea of leaving a good country and going back to the barren hills of Judah.

C. lii, 1-12.—Zion is called upon to awake to a new life, for the sanctuary will no longer be profaned by the feet of the unclean. The people shall be redeemed from bondage. A herald carries the good news of redemption to Jerusalem, and the exiles are urged to follow.

C. lii, 13–liii.—The experience of the suffering servant. The servant was so disfigured that men turned their face away, for he had borne pain and sorrow in excess. In accord with the received theology, his pain was deemed the result of his own wrong; but now it is perceived that his sufferings were vicarious, as he was bearing the consequences of others' sins. He bore his pain without a murmur of complaint, because

Jahveh laid the burden upon him. In the end Jahveh will accomplish his purpose, and glorify His servant.

The Servant of Jahveh.—This prophecy is the culmination of the servant passages. It reaches the highest level of all the Messianic prophecies in the Old Testament; for here the Messiah is represented as reaching the divine end through suffering. In some of the passages in deutero-Isaiah the servant is undoubtedly the nation, and some scholars would interpret all of them in that sense. But it is difficult to believe that the nation exhausts the meaning of the chapter before us. It seems clear that as uffering individual must have been in the prophet's mind. Further, while we must allow for the prophet's concern with the hard problems of his own age, we must also admit that he has given a remarkable forecast of a conspicuous note in the life of Christ.

C. liv.—The aim of the prophet now is to encourage the people struggling to restore their ruined kingdom. For these chapters were probably delivered in Jerusalem. There is the promise of a great increase in numbers and power, and the eloquent assurance, "no weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper."

C. lv.—The blessings of heaven shall be freely bestowed, and the prosperity of Israel will attract other nations to their God. Man cannot comprehend the ways of God, but the word of God will be surely fulfilled.

C. lvi.—Being the people of God is not a matter of race or physical perfection, but of obedience to the laws of God. The foreigners who have attached themselves to Jahveh shall never be excommunicated; and the monarchs, of whom there may have been many among the returned exiles, shall have an eternal memorial in the holy city. Vv. 9-12 are puzzling; they

seem to be directed against such greedy rulers as Nehemiah describes (Neh. v, 15-18). The poor people were sore hindered by the oppression of those who governed them.

C. lvii.—Here there is a picture of the suffering of God's poor, and a severe indictment of those responsible for that condition. The oppressors may have been those who were more concerned to stand in favor with the Persians than with God. Purnishment will yet overtake them, but Jahveh will heal the wounds of the oppressed.

C. lviii.—The message has a distinct evangelical note. The religion which consisted merely of forms and ceremonies is denounced as worthless. The people of God must show their religion in the lives they lead, feeding the hungry and comforting the afflicted. The nation can be renewed only on the basis of righteous living, especially, stress is laid here as in c. lvi on the observance of the Sabbath day, and that also reminds us of the conditions of Nehemiah's time (*cf.* Neh. xiii, 15-22).

C. lix.—The bad conditions in restored Isreal are not due to any lack of power in Jahveh, but to the sins of the people. There is a confession in vv. 9-15, acknowledging wrongdoing as the cause of the present distress. Jahveh took the matter into His own hands, and His fame is spread through all the world.

C. lx.—This consists of an address to Jerusalem, giving her assurance that Jahveh will yet shed His glory upon her; her children shall come back from

every part of the earth; her walls will be restored; and the wealth of the world will pour through her gates. The aim of the prophet is to cheer up those who are struggling to raise Jerusalem from its ruins. The Persian period was a trying one to the faithful, because the apathy of the mass of the Jews could not be overcome.

C. lxi.—A part is a reflection of the prophet, and is written in the first person (vv. 1-3, 10 f.). The seer describes his mission, and expresses his joy in the righteousness which Jahveh will cause to spring forth. The rest is addressed to the people, assuring them that the nations of the world will hold the Jews in high esteem because of their God.

C. lxii.—This is another address to Jerusalem. The city and the land shall have new names appropriate to the new era; and the people, too, will have new titles to mark the new age. The watchmen upon the walls of Jerusalem are invited to keep Jahveh reminded of His promises until they are fulfilled.

C. lxiii.—Jahveh is pictured as a mighty warrior coming back from Edom after slaughtering the enemies of His people (vv. 1-6). This part betrays the characteristic animosity towards the Edomites, and presents so gory a picture that we may easily believe it to come from a different author. There follows a recital of the great deeds of Jahveh in the past (vv. 7-14), and a pathetic cry because of the presence of the enemy in the holy city (vv. 15-19).

C. lxiv.—The people appeal for a fresh manifestation of the divine power; they are profoundly discouraged

because of their woes, and because of the religious indifference of the people. The land is wasted and the temple is in ruins, and there are evidences of Jahveh's wrath. It would appear to be necessary to date this prophecy earlier than the rebuilding of the temple, unless we regard vv. 9-11 as an interpolation (see Marti).

C. lxv.—From this address of Jahveh it appears that there are many wicked people in post-exilic Judah. These people practice idolatry and yet deem themselves holier than their neighbors. Jahveh will never again destroy the good with the evil; the latter shall be given over to the sword, while the former shall be prosperous and happy. Jahveh will make all things new, and in Jerusalem there shall be an era of peace in which the inhabitants shall round out their long lives without molestation, and they shall reap a rich reward for their labors.

C. lxvi.—There is evidence of dissension among the people, always a cause of slow progress. Some of the people rely solely upon sacrifices, to which Jahveh pays no heed; and some are persecuted and cast out by men, but they do not thus lose the favor of their God. Jahveh has brought Israel back from captivity, and having helped them thus far, He is ready to complete his gracious work. Jerusalem shall yet be comforted, and her people shall rejoice. All nations shall see the glory of the Lord, and will bring back the prisoners they still hold, and of these priests and Levites will be found for the service of the temple. All people will

come to worship Jahveh in this new age, for they will see the havoc wrought among those that have transgressed against Him.

Jeremiah

For three quarters of a century, so far as we know, there had been no prophetic voice in Judah. From the day Isaiah delivered his last message, about 701 B.C., until the young priest of Anathoth opened his lips, 626 B.C., there is no record of any prophecy. This period includes the long reign of Manasseh, the short reign of Amon, and the first years of Josiah. God was without witness at that time because Manasseh was a persecutor. It is true that there are references to specific prophecies (2 Ki. xxi. 10 ff.; 2 Chr. xxxiii, 10, 18), but the exception rather proves the rule. It is very probable that the "innocent blood very much" which that wicked king shed (2 Ki. xxi, 16) was to a considerable extent the blood of those who essayed to speak the truth of God.

When Josiah became king by the assassination of his father he was a mere child. Just at the time of his majority the Asiatic world was stirred by the Scythian invasion. These barbarian hordes overran all of Asia Minor, and for a time Judah was in great peril. This crisis brought forward two prophets, Jeremiah and Zephaniah.

The book of Jeremiah is peculiar on account of the large amount of biographical material it contains. In parts there are prophecies pure and simple; but in the

larger portion of the book the messages are interwoven with the narrative, so that we have the historic setting in full.

The Septuagint differs very greatly from the Hebrew, especially in the order of the chapters. The translators may have had a different text from that which has come down to us. The order is not chronological in either text, and at times it is impossible to say what principle underlies the arrangement. Several of the chapters are dated, but often it is not easy to determine the proper chronological order. It is convenient for study to group the prophecies by the reigns of the various kings.

1. *The reign of Josiah*, 639-609 B.C.—Jeremiah's call is described in c. i. It belongs to the 13th year of Josiah, so 626 B.C. Jeremiah is assured that from birth he was destined for the prophetic office. He protests his unfitness on the ground that he is too young or inexperienced to be a public speaker. He is reassured because God will direct his movements and supply him with the message he is to deliver. The stormy times in which the prophet is to live, and the severe trials he is to undergo, are reflected in the repeated injunctions not to fear those who will rise in bitter opposition. The vision of the boiling caldron points out the source from which will come the danger to the nation,—first the Scythians, and later the Babylonians.

In cc. ii-vi we find a group of prophecies which were probably occasioned by the invasion of the terrible

Scythians, though in part the oracles have been retouched, possibly to make them apply to later enemies. Duhm holds that i, 1–iv, 4, is a collection of prophetic poems composed before Jeremiah left his home at Anathoth, and that the enemies are Assyria and Egypt. There is much in these chapters against idolatry. It is shown that sinfulness had characterized the people throughout their history. The threatening disaster is the divine punishment for sin. There are graphic pictures of the havoc wrought by the foe (e.g. iv, 19-31).

The result of the preaching of Jeremiah and Zephaniah was tremendous. What kind of a king Josiah would otherwise have been, it is impossible to say. He was now about twenty-five years old, and seems to have been impressed with the peril from which he had escaped, and was desirous to avoid further disasters. Therefore he began his great reformation (2 Ki. xxii f.), to which the discovery of the law gave a great impulse. The appearance of this law, the book of Deuteronomy, made a deep impression on Jeremiah, and from xi, 1-8, it appears that for a time he went about the towns of Judah appealing to the people to obey the new law. His own productions everywhere show the influence of Deuteronomy. Orelli supposes that the address on the Sabbath day (xvii, 19-27) belongs to this period.

2. *The reign of Jehoiakim*, 608-597 B.C.—Josiah was slain by the Egyptians at the battle of Megiddo

(2 Ki. xxiii, 29*b*; 2 Chr. xxxv, 20 ff.). By a popular movement, Jehoahaz, a younger son of Josiah, was placed on the throne. But he ruled only three months, when he was taken prisoner by Pharoah-necoh, who carried him to Egypt where he died a prisoner. Pharoah placed Jehoiakim on the throne, and Judah became an Egyptian dependency. The chapters which belong to this reign are vii-xii, xiv-xxiii, 8; xxv, xxvi, xxxv, xxxvi, xlv-xlix.[1] Jehoiakim was a reactionary. Josiah's tragic death was interpreted as a punishment for his destruction of the local shrines scattered through the land, and the people readily turned to the old ways.

Jeremiah's first message under the new order was a prediction of disaster. The sermon on the temple (vii-ix; x, 17-25) contains these chief points: (1) The temple will be destroyed, even as that at Shiloh. The belief of the people that Jahveh must save Jerusalem to protect His sanctuary was a vain superstition. (2) The Jewish people were led so far from the ways of God that no prophetic intercession would avail to save them. (3) Salvation could never come from sacrifices, but only from faithful obedience to the law of God. (4) The holy city was certain to be destroyed, even the graves of the dead being opened in the mad search for plunder.

The sequel to this bold declaration is found in c. xxvi. Some writers have assigned the chapters to

[1] This grouping is only approximately correct, as x, 1-16, is exilic; xi, 1-8, is probably earlier; xxi, 1-10, is later.

the Scythian invasion. It is true that here and there are hints of an invasion and a siege, but they may reflect the recent capture of Jehoahaz, and the general tone is the same as c. xxvi, which is dated "in the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim." From xxvi, 2, it appears that the sermon on the temple had been delivered at a festival when all Judah was gathered at Zion. Jeremiah now came into conflict with the authorities, both civil and ecclesiastical. He was arrested by the priests and prophets and taken before the princes sitting as a court; he was charged with a capital offence, blasphemy against the temple,[1] and his death was demanded.

Like St. Paul (Acts xxvi, 1), Jeremiah was allowed to speak on his own behalf. His defence leaves nothing to be desired. He asserts that he had spoken only the words which Jahveh had put in his mouth, and he could not do otherwise. He admits that he is in the power of the court, but he proclaims boldly that if he is put to death, the hands of his executioners will be stained with innocent blood. Jeremiah was saved by a friend who cited the notable precedent of Micah who had used similar language a century before, and whose threat led to Hezekiah's reformation, not to his own death. This friend was Ahikam (xxvi, 24). Jeremiah was acquitted, but another prophet, Uriah, who preached the same doctrine, was pursued to Egypt, brought back and put to death by

[1] *Cf.* the charge against our Lord, St. Mat. xxvi, 59 ff.

order of the king. It was a perilous time for the faithful man of God.

The next passage to study is in xi, 9–xii. The prophet sees a conspiracy against God, in that there is a combination to indulge in idolatrous practices, and such repentance as there is is unblushing hypocrisy. Again his life is in danger, and this time from the men of Anathoth, the friends and neighbors of his youth. Jeremiah was warned of the plot to assassinate him (xi, 18), and escaped; and we can easily understand the bitter words he poured out upon those who proved that "a prophet was not without honor, save among his own people." His prayers for evil upon his persecutors are not answered, at least in the way he would have it, and he is counselled to practice patience, a quality he will sorely need, as his faith will have still greater trials to endure.

The Jews had gotten along rather easily during the mild sway of the Egyptians. In 604 B.C. occurred the battle of Carchemish, which resulted in the defeat of Egypt by the Babylonian army, and Judah thus passed under the control of Nebuchadrezzar, who was in a few years to work its complete ruin. Jehoiakim rebelled against the new overlord, and the result was war and disaster. At the time of this revolt Jeremiah uttered the prophesies in cc. xiv-xvii, the immediate occasion of which was a terrible drought (xiv, 1-9). Jeremiah is troubled because other prophets give a message of peace, while his own vision is only of war. He is assured that those prophets speak falsely

in the name of Jahveh. He is told the time has come when even the intercessions of Moses and Samuel could not turn God from His purpose to punish. As the case is so hopeless the prophet laments his useless calling. The only assurance he has is of his own protection (xv, 20 f.). He is forbidden to marry and beget children, because of the terrible sufferings which will befall the weak and helpless (xvi, 1-13). There is much in xvi, 14-21, pointing to a later period, and which may have been interpolated. The people seemed to look to human power for deliverance rather than to God, relying upon an alliance with Egypt.

In cc. xviii-xx, which may be somewhat earlier than those just considered, we have a series of addresses, based on a visit to the potter. As the prophet sees the potter do what he will with the clay, he is reminded how absolutely Israel is in the power of God. He catches a new inspiration as he recognizes the conditional element in prophetic threats; for if the people heed the warning, God will change His purpose, even as the potter does. His enemies are alert, and make another effort to destroy his influence. Jeremiah is particularly embittered by this attack, and pours out powerful imprecations upon his foes (xviii, 18-23).

Then follows another symbolic message. He buys an earthen bottle and breaks it before the people in the ominous valley of Hinnom as a sign that God would break the nation (c. xix). Pashur, the chief

officer of the temple, was among his auditors, and he resolves to do some breaking on his own account. The prophet is seized and placed in the stocks in a public gate, and left there over night. When Jeremiah is released in the morning, he quickly shows that his spirit is not crushed, for he pours forth fierce predictions of disaster, which would come upon his persecutor (xx, 1-6). Then the seer goes to his home and falls into a state of black depression, such as it is hoped few of the sons of men know (*ib.* 7-18). He feels that God has forced him to his unwelcome task; he had often resolved to speak no more in the name of Jahveh, but then there was "in his heart as it were a burning fire shut up in his bones, and he became weary of forbearing," and could contain himself no longer. The passage ends with a curse upon the day of his birth, which is very like what we find in Job iii.

At this point we may conveniently consider xxi, 11-xxiii, 8, in which Jeremiah expresses his opinion of the various kings who in his day sat upon the throne of David. First he has a message to the royal house in general, describing the righteous and just rule which God demands, and which he did not find in the arrogant and boastful Judean kings (xxi, 11–xxii, 9). He then speaks specifically of Jehoahaz, who had been carried to Egypt, whence he would never return (xxii, 10-12). Next he makes a severe arraignment of Jehoiakim, declaring that his end will be by violence, so that there will be neither lament nor burial (*ib.* 13,19). He speaks at greater length about Jehoiachin or

Coniah, who was taken to Babylon as a prisoner, where he remained in bondage for thirty-six years (*ib.* 21-30). Finally, he speaks again collectively of those shepherds who scattered the flocks which they should have fed, and closes with a Messianic passage, which may be later, and is a prediction of the rise of a righteous king (xxiii, 1-8). It is certain that Jeremiah had a very poor opinion of the kings who ruled in his day. Zedekiah is not named, not because he was any better than the others, but because the prophecy was delivered before his reign.

C. xxv is dated, and belongs to the time of the battle of Carchemish, the meaning of which Jeremiah recognized only too well. The prophet dwells on the many warnings delivered by him and others, but which the people had not heeded. Judah and all the nations which Nebuchadrezzar conquered would be compelled to drink Jahveh's wine-cup of fury, symbolizing their complete downfall. Vv. 8-14 predict the release of the exiles after seventy years, and is therefore regarded by Duhm and others as post-exilic.

C. xxxv belongs to a period when Judah was overrun by the Babylonian armies, and so the nomadic Rechabites had been driven into Jerusalem for safety. The prophet offered them wine, and when they refused, on the ground that the founder of their tribe had forbidden them to drink wine, and they had always obeyed his orders, Jeremiah points the moral to the mass of Jews standing by—for the scene was at the temple—showing how Israel suffered in comparison. The

Rechabites were loyal to the orders of a man, while the Israelites would not obey the command of God.

C. xxxvi is dated in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, and is very important and interesting. Jeremiah was "shut up" (v. 5), that is, he was compelled to keep in the background on account of the danger from his enemies. He dare not appear in public to speak, so he is commanded to write down all the prophecies he had delivered in a period of more than twenty years. It was hoped that the people might be influenced by the written word to obey the laws of God. This is the only case where we have any explanation of the writing down of prophecies. The work took a good part of a year, Jeremiah dictating to Baruch, his secretary, and Baruch then reading the roll before the people assembled at the temple on a fast day. This virtual reappearance of the supposedly silenced prophet caused consternation among the princes. They were friendly though, and delayed carrying the news to the king long enough for Baruch and Jeremiah to find so secure a hiding place that it is said "Jahveh hid them" (v. 26). As the roll was read to the king he cut it in pieces and burned it in the fire, vainly supposing that he could destroy the word of God by fire. Jeremiah's answer was the production of a larger book, containing in still plainer language the declaration of Judah's certain downfall.

C. xlv shows that Baruch realized the danger he was in at this critical time, and Jeremiah takes pains to reassure him that his life will be spared in spite of the ruin coming upon the state.

In cc. xlvi-xlix there is a collection of prophecies against foreign nations, and these for the most part belong to the period of the battle of Carchemish, and are warnings to the nations of the danger from the new Babylonian power. There is first a long oracle against Egypt (c. xlvi) declaring that this people will be broken. Though Nebuchadrezzar is the instrument, the destruction is really the work of the Lord (vv. 10-15). The oracle is meant as a warning to the party in Jerusalem which persisted to the last in relying upon the empire of the Nile to rescue them from the Babylonians. There follows a series of prophecies, some long and some short: against Philistia, c. xlvii; Moab, c. xlviii; Ammon, Edom, Syria, and three Arabian tribes, Kedar, Hazor and Elam, c. xlix. It is probably not accidental that, counting the last three as one, there are seven nations whose doom is foretold. So in Amos i, ii, there are seven nations upon whom doom is pronounced.

After the burning of the roll, so far as we know, Jeremiah did not prophesy again during the reign of Jehoiakim. Probably he was never able to emerge from his hiding place. Jehoiakim was succeeded by his son, of a provokingly similar name, Jehoiachin. A Babylonian army appeared before Jerusalem, the king surrendered, and he, with his court and several thousand soldiers and artisans, were taken prisoners to Babylonia, among them being the young prophet Ezekiel. The king of Babylon placed on the throne of Judah Zedekiah, the brother of Jehoiakim, and made him swear allegiance to himself.

3. *The reign of Zedekiah*, 596-586.—The prophecies which belong to this reign are cc. xiii, xxi, 1-10; xxiii, 9-40; xxiv, xxvii-xxxiv, xxxvii-xxxix, l-lii.

C. xiii.—The prophet buys a linen girdle and carries it to the Euphrates and hides it in a hole of the rock. "After many days" he goes back for the girdle and finds it rotten and worthless. The ruined girdle is made the symbol of the fall of Judah's pride, the fall due to the failure to hear Jahveh's words. If the passage is to be taken literally, Jeremiah travelled a thousand miles in his girdle episode,—a great deal of labor for the purpose. Some scholars have avoided the difficulty by supposing that Ephratah in Judah is meant.

C. xxi, 1-10, belongs to the time when Jerusalem was invested by Nebuchadrezzar. The king sent Pashur to inquire whether Jeremiah had any word from Jahveh. The prophet replies that Jahveh Himself is behind the Babylonian army, and that the state is doomed. The only possible safety lies in surrender to the enemy.

C. xxiii, 9-40, is a denunciation of the prophets and priests, who were largely responsible for the desperate state of affairs. Jeremiah declares in vigorous language that God has not spoken by these prophets, and the people are warned not to listen to their delusive messages. These prophets speak from their own base minds, or take words from each other's mouths, and preface such utterances with the solemn phrase, "the oracle of Jahveh." These speakers were prob-

ably members of the prophetic guilds, the order called "the sons of the prophets."

C. xxiv.—The two baskets of figs; another symbolic prophecy. The basket of good figs represents the Jews carried into exile in 597, and that of the bad figs those who were left in Judah. The information is that Nebuchadrezzar had not considered the latter class worth carrying to Babylon. The better classes had as a matter of fact been taken captive and deported.

Cc. xxvii-xxix belong to the time when Zedekiah was forming an alliance with other Palestinian states, the object of which was to throw off the yoke of Babylon and so to regain independence. The prophet sent ox-yokes to all the ambassadors, and wore one upon his own neck, as a symbol that safety lay in submission (xxvii, 1-11). A special message is given to Zedekiah urging him to keep faith with his superior. Again Jeremiah insists that the prophets lie who say that the captured temple vessels shall soon be restored, whereas the fact is that the vessels which still remain in the temple will follow the others to Babylon.

A prophet named Hananiah comes out boldly, for he is confident that the alliance supported by Egypt will triumph, and declares that Babylon's yoke will be broken and the vessels and prisoners will be brought back within two years. Jeremiah's reply is peculiar. He says that history shows that the prophecies of evil are those which have been fulfilled, not those of

good. Thereupon Hananiah breaks the yoke on Jeremiah's neck, and uses the act as a symbol that what he had said would come to pass. The next day Jeremiah returns to the attack with the declaration that Jahveh will make a yoke of iron in place of the yoke of wood, and that Hananiah shall die within the year, both predictions being fulfilled (c. xxviii).

In c. xxix we have an interesting account of some correspondence with the exiles. News of the plots had leaked out, and Zedekiah must send an embassy to Babylon to assure the king of his continued loyalty. Jeremiah uses the opportunity to send a letter to the exiles, warning them that the captivity would be long, and urging them to settle down and look after their livelihood. It appears that there were prophets among the exiles of the Hananiah type, a conclusion supported by Ezekiel, and they resent Jeremiah's interference, and send back a demand to Zephaniah, a high officer of the temple, that Jeremiah shall be forcibly restrained. Jeremiah was bitterly persecuted by the people of Judah, and they were encouraged in their wrong by some of the exiles.

Cc. xxx-xxxiii are Jeremiah's great Messianic utterances. They belong to the time when Jerusalem's fall is so certain and so imminent (note xxxii, 2; xxxiii, 1; *cf.* xxxvii, 21) that the catastrophe has no more interest for the prophet, and he turns to look for a brighter day in the future. These prophecies he is commanded to write, that there may be a record of the prediction to use in the day of fulfilment.

It appears that Israel, as well as Judah, comes within the range of the prophet's bright visions (xxx, 4). The distress is very great now; the wound has been inflicted by God, and hence no human help will avail; but God Himself is aroused against the nations by which Israel has been chastised, and they shall be punished for their insolence.

There will be a new nation whose note will be unity. Rachel, the mother of Joseph and Benjamin, and so typical of the whole land, is bewailing the loss of her children; but she shall be comforted, for the land shall be sowed with the seed of men and of beasts. The new nation will be a godly people, and it will not be necessary to teach them, for every one will have the law of God written upon his heart.

In c. xxxii there is the story of Jeremiah's forced purchase of a piece of land. Jeremiah felt that Jahveh constrained him to buy the land according to the law of kinship, but as the estate was in possession of the Babylonian army he was sore puzzled to know why he must part with good money for apparently worthless soil. He is assured that Judean land will again have value, for the people will return and live in joy and peace. This theme is further develped in c. xxxiii. The royal house will be reëstablished on its falling throne. The people are reminded that God's covenant is as trustworthy as the laws of the natural world.

C. xxxiv belongs to the time of the long siege of Jerusalem. The condition is indeed desperate, as practically all of Judah outside of the city was in the

possession of the Babylonians. Under this pressure the rich men were induced to comply with the law and release their slaves of Hebrew birth (Deut. xv, 12 ff.). Then, at last, a supporting army marches from Egypt. Nebuchadrezzar is too good a general to await an attack in his siege lines. He thereupon raises the seige temporarily and goes to meet and defeat the force from the Nile. The people believe they have seen the last of the Babylonians, and regretting their weakness in timidly releasing their bondsmen, promptly force them into slavery again. The prophet roundly denounces this perfidy, and reiterates his predictions of the bondage of the covenant breakers.

In c. xxxvii we are in the same period. Zedekiah requests the prophet to pray for the nation. Jeremiah asserts that Nebuchadrezzar will return and capture Jerusalem. The prophet takes advantage of the opportunity afforded by the raising of the siege to go to his home in Anathoth to secure fresh supplies for the coming siege. He is arrested as he is about to pass through the gate and is imprisoned. It appears that the defence was weakening on account of desertions. People had been taking Jeremiah's advice to find safety in surrender. Jeremiah is brought to the king, but can only confirm his former declaration of the doom of the city. The king heeds his plea not to be sent back to the dungeon and committed him to the court of the guard.

From c. xxxviii it appears that Jeremiah was not silenced by chains any more than St. Paul, and he

continued to advise the people to desert. At the demand of the angry princes the prophet is cast into a miry pit and left there to die. He was saved from that fate by an Ethiopian eunuch. Zedekiah has another secret conference with the prophet and pledges him to deceive the princes when they ask him about the subject of the conference.

C. xxxix is historial, a parallel to c. lii, describing the fall of Jerusalem, the capture of the king, the slaughter of his sons, the putting out of his eyes and the deportation to Babylon. Jeremiah is released by order of the conquering king, because his prophecies had been so favorable to Babylon. Promises of divine blessings are made to the eunuch who had rescued him fom death.

In c. l f. there is a long, cryptic prophecy against Babylon. The occasion is described in c. li, 59-64. The prophecy was to be read, and then, weighted by a stone, was to be cast into the Euphrates as a symbol. The prophecy does not appear to belong to Jeremiah, but it was uttered by some prophet at a time when it would be perilous to be known as the author of such a message, and so pains were taken to insure the destruction of the oracle as soon as it had been read to the exiles.

4. *After the fall of Jerusalem* (cc. xl-xliv).—This section is important for the history; indeed, it is the only source of information for the period. From these chapters we glean some knowledge of the conditions

in Judah after 586, and of the settlement of a colony of Jews in Egypt, of whom we hear later in the papyri from Elephantine.

Gedaliah had been appointed governor of Judah, for naturally only a small part of the nation was taken to Babylonia. The new government was established at Mizpah, a place lying to the north of Jerusalem. The people who had been in hiding during the Babylonian invasion emerged and gathered about the new governor. Johanan, one of the military officers who had escaped, warned Gedaliah of a plot against his life. The Ammonites were ambitious to take advantage of Judah's plight to extend their boundaries, and they urged Ishmael to assault the governor (c. xl). Gedaliah discredited the report, and took no precautionary measures. Ishmael, who was of royal blood and felt that he had a right to the throne, slew Gedaliah, the Jews at Mispah, and the Babylonian garrison. Johanan attacked the rebels and retook the prisoners held by Ishmael, but Ishmael himself escaped (c. xli).

Johanan now consults Jeremiah, for his problem is serious. If the Jews stay in Palestine the Babylonians would probably punish them for Ishmael's crimes. After ten days delay Jeremiah uges Johanan to stay in Judah, and assures him that he will not be molested. At the same time the prophet realizes that Johanan and his band are going to Egypt, no matter what the word of Jahveh may be (c. xlii). And so they did. They declared that the prophet, who had always

shown pro-Babylonian proclivities, spoke falsely, and the whole company hastened to Egypt, forcing Jeremiah and Baruch to accompany them. When they arrived by the Nile Jeremiah utters another prediction, that Nebuchadrezzar would proceed to take Egypt also, and thus the Jews who fled for safety would be involved in another war (c. xliii).

The Jews in Egypt fell into the idolatrous practices of that country, and when Jeremiah reproved them they declared that in the past they were always most prosperous when they were worshipping a variety of gods. The prophet concludes his book, and, so far as we know, his career, by reiterating a solemn warning of the disaster which will certainly fall upon Egypt (c. xliv). The prediction was fulfilled, for Nebuchadrezzar took Egypt in 568 B.C.

Ezekiel

We know very little about this prophet. He had been carried prisoner to Babylonia in the deportation of 598, while still a young man, and lived all the rest of his life among the exiles by the river Chebar, recently identified as one of the canals of Nippur, where the University of Pennsylvania has carried on its extensive and successful excavations. His life was uneventful under these circumstances, and there probably was little to tell. He was a priest of the order of Zadok. At first he prophesied in private, but soon won a reputation and was sought out by his countrymen. It has been supposed by some that he was an

invalid, and so incapable of great activity. The period of his most vigorous work was the six years preceding the fall of Jerusalem and one or two years afterwards. His work continued as late as 571, so that his prophetic career extended over more than twenty years.

This book contains no editorial additions from later hands, and it is systematically arranged in chronological order. It shows the fruit of literary leisure rather than the impromptu efforts of the earlier prophets. It is full of stereotyped forms. There is much use of symbols, the figures of animals showing the influence of the country in which he lived.

If we take up the study of Ezekiel with the expectation of learning something of the life of the Jewish exiles we are doomed to disappointment. For Ezekiel was quite detached from Babylonia save in body. He was a dreamer, and his spirit was ever in the land of his birth. He is kept well informed of the course of events in Jerusalem, and his interest is always in the fortunes of his native land.

The book falls into three main discussions: *The approaching fall of Jerusalem* (cc. i-xxiv); *Oracles against foreign nations* (cc. xxv-xxxii); *Israel's future restoration* (cc. xxxiii-xlviii).

1. Cc. i-xi contains the early prophecies, spoken while Ezekiel was gaining his reputation, about 594 B.C. The call of the prophet is very elaborately described in i, 1–iii, 21. This is a highly symbolic

picture, the imagery being intended to portray the glory of God. The prophet was so overwhelmed with the vision of glory that he falls prostrate upon the ground (i, 28). Then the message comes to him, giving a premonition of the opposition that he will encounter. He is presented with a book-roll, crowded with writing upon the subject of lamentations and mourning and woe, and he is commanded to eat the book (as the symbol of his inspiration). After seven days of silent agitation he receives further instructions from God to the effect that the watchman must warn the people who are in danger, whether they will listen or not.

The prophet was living a life of quiet seclusion, but is now directed to engage in some strange symbolic acts and to interpret them, showing that they refer to the impending fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of its population (iii, 22–vii). First he dreams a picture of Jerusalem in a state of siege; he lays in a store of provisions, which he is to eat sparingly day by day. He is directed to lie on his left side constantly for 390 days, and then on his right side for forty days, to signify the number of years during which Israel and Judah, respectively, will endure exile (c. iv). Then he is directed to cut his hair with a sharp sword, to burn one-third, to smite one-third with the sword, and to scatter one-third to the winds, symbolizing the destruction of the people by pestilence, by the sword and by captivity (c. v). In c. vi he declares that punishment will fall upon the mountains of Judah, and in

c. vii upon the country. The prevalence of idolatry as practised in Judah is clearly shown.

In cc. viii-xi we have one of the prophet's remarkable visions. A year has elapsed; people have heard of him; and now the elders gather at his house to hear the word of the Lord. The prophet falls into an ecstatic state, in which he sees a strange figure that takes him by the hair and carries him to Jerusalem. These are the sights which he beholds at the temple: (a) By the gate of the altar was "an image of Jealousy" (viii, 5), probably of Astarte. (b) In one of the temple chambers he finds the walls covered with pictures symbolizing the worship of Egypt, and seventy elders of Israel were indulging in secret worship there (viii, 7-13). This idolatry was due to the political intrigues by which Egyptian help against Babylon was sought. (c) At the northern gate of the temple women were engaged in the licentious worship of Tammuz (viii, 14 f.). (d) In the inner court of the temple he saw twenty-five men with their backs towards the house of God worshipping the sun (viii, 16-18).

Then he sees a scribe-priest who is sent through the city to mark the forehead of everyone who bewails the prevalent idolatry. After them comes a company of men armed with battle-axes, who are ordered to slay every man, woman and child save those whose foreheads were marked by the scribe (c. ix). In c. x there is another picture of the glory of God, which the seer identifies with his inaugural vision

(c. i). The significant thing is Jahveh's preparation to abandon the temple to its fate. In c. xi the prophet learns that the hope of the future lies in the exiles, for all those now in Judah will be destroyed. At the close the glory of God, with the cherubim from the temple, leaves the city and encamps upon a mountain to watch the doom of the temple now deserted of the person of Jahveh.

The prophet awakes and relates his vision to the elders who had come to consult him. The object is to impress upon the exiles the certainty of Jerusalem's fall, so that they shall not be led astray by false hopes of a return, but shall rather settle down and address themselves to the problem of getting subsistence.

2. *Prophecies due to bad news from Jerusalem* (cc. xii-xxx).—Ezekiel is commanded to move his goods by a hole in the side of the house and at night, as a symbol of the coming exile of King Zedekiah and the people. He eats his scant food with trembling, to show how Israel will quake with the terror of the time. He declares that the people will no longer distrust the prophets because their predictions are unfulfilled (c. xii). The prophets in Jerusalem mislead the people, because they proclaim their own ideas, and therefore the seers will perish with the collapse of the structure they have built. Women were as bad as men in speaking messages other than what Jahveh would give them (c. xiii). The elders

consult Ezekiel, but are reproved; for Jahveh will not be inquired of by those who do wrong. The presence of a few saints will not serve to save the city; the righteous will save only themselves in the destruction that is about to fall upon Jerusalem (c. xiv). Israel is compared to a vine, which is only fit to burn, because the wood is worthless (c. xv).

Israel is a half-breed, for its father was an Amorite and its mother a Hittite. Jahveh pitied the neglected foundling and bestowed tender care upon it. But the child grew up only to become an adulteress, consorting with every false god. Punishment is richly deserved, for Judah is worse than Sodom, or than Samaria—contrary to the view of the compiler of the book of Kings. God's love is not quenched, and he will restore Judah, but not till after the restoration of Sodom and Samaria (c. xvi). The prophet sets forth an allegory (c. xvii). The first eagle (v. 3) is Nebuchadrezzar, the second (v. 7) is Pharoah-hophra. The first thing plucked by the first eagle (v. 4) is Zedekiah, and the second thing plucked off by Jahveh (v. 22) is the Messianic prince of the house of David. The present government in Judah shall fall, but a new one will be raised up in its place.

In c. xviii the prophet gives a theological dissertation on the theme, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge," with which may be compared the declaration in the Decalogue that the sins of the parents shall be visited upon the children. Ezekiel takes a strongly individ-

ualistic position, that in the future every man shall suffer only the consequences of his own sins (*cf.* Jer. xxxi, 29 f.). There follows (c. xix) a lamentation over the princes of Israel, in which the satire is plain. The first whelp which the lioness set up as king is Jehoahaz, who became a prey to the power of Egypt. Then the lioness puts another of her whelps (Jehoiachin) upon the throne, and he made a brief parade of his power. But the nations spread the net for him, and now he is a prisoner in Babylon.

In c. xx we reach the fourth year before the fall of Jerusalem, a period shortly before the siege began. The passage is a long review of Israel's history to demonstrate their faithlessness to their God. Jahveh had brought Israel from Egypt, and had taught them the things they should do in order that they might live; but at every stage of their history they had disregarded the divine commands. There is a picture of a new day when a pure remnant will be redeemed from bondage. The chapter closes with an address to the forest of the south, in which Jahveh would kindle a destroying fire.

3. *Prophecies delivered during the early days of Nebuchadrezzar's campaign against Jerusalem* (cc. xxi-xxiv).—Jahveh stands against the land of Israel and will destroy the righteous and the wicked together. The prophet explains his sighing as due to the bad news which comes from Judah. He sings a sword-song to indicate the destructive work of the

Babylonian arms. Nehuchadrezzar is represented as choosing his march, being undecided whether first to proceed against Ammon or against Judah, by divining with the teraphim, the liver and the arrows, and the oracle names Judah as the first point of attack. Yet the prophet declares that Ammon's turn will come in due season (c. xxi). Judah is ripe for judgment, for her guilt is universal. Jahveh searched in vain for a righteous man for whose sake the city might be spared; but He finds that the prophets, the priests, the princes and the people are alike steeped in vice (c. xxii). As Ezekiel perceives that the crushing blow is about to fall he is assured that the calamity is not due to any lack of power in Jahveh, but to sins of the people. As in the days of Noah, purification can come only through destruction.

In c. xxiii there is an allegory of the rise, progress and punishment of Israel's idolatry. Samaria and Jerusalem were sister harlots. Samaria long ago practised crime with Assyria, and her lover has destroyed her. Judah was not warned by her sister's fate, and has surpassed her lewdness, committing sin with Assyria, Babylonia (Chaldea), and Egypt, and now she shall share her sister's doom.

C. xxiv is dated by Davidson January, 587. The prophet announces the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem under the symbol of the pot, which cannot be purified by boiling. Ezekiel's wife dies, and he is forbidden to show any of the conventional signs of mourning. When the people express amazement at

his strange proceedings the prophet interprets his course as a symbol of the condition of the nation, whose affliction would be so great that mourning will be out of the question. The prophet was struck dumb by the heavy blow, but is assured that speech shall return to him in the day when a new message is required (*cf.* xxxiii, 22).

2. *Oracles against the nations* (cc. xxv–xxxii).—Prophecies are delivered against seven nations; Ammon (xxv, 1-7), Moab (*ib.* 8-11), Edom (*ib.* 12-14), Philistia (*ib.* 15-17), Tyre (xxvi-xxviii, 19), Sidon (xxviii, 20-24), Egypt (xxix-xxxii). These nations are taken up in geographical order. Most of the oracles are brief, but there are two long ones against Tyre, probably because it was so powerful that its overthrow seemed improbable, and against Egypt, because it had fostered rebellion in Judah, and had thus contributed to her overthrow. The oracles describe the downfall of all of the powers, and declare that the cause is the same which undermined Judah's strength, i.e. the universal wickedness. The sin of the nations is different from that which Amos pictures as the cause of their doom, for in Ezekiel their hostility towards Judah is reckoned among their vices. These prophecies were delivered during and shortly after the siege of Jerusalem, a time when the prophet is silent about his own country. At the time of the awful calamity he finds no words to express his feelings. Ezekiel was a true patriot, and he suffered with the woes of his native land.

3. *Israel's future restoration* (xxxiii-xlviii).—This large section of his book contains Ezekiel's dreams of the future of his country. In the early prophecies he had been concerned to show that God really would effect Judah's overthrow and to justify the divine course. His problem is different now, for his energies are devoted to the saving of Israel's faith. The fall of the city, and especially the destruction of the temple, made many Jews feel that there was some justification for the Babylonian boast of the superiority of their gods. Ezekiel must stand against this danger and convince his people that Jahveh would heal, even as he had wounded. Just because sin had brought disaster, virtue might take it away. This section may be devided into three parts.

a. The condition of future prosperity (cc. xxxiii-xxxvi).—The first requirement for bringing about the new era is a genuine prophet. The watchman who fails to warn the people when danger comes will be held responsible for the damage that results (c. xxxiii). The occasion of this prophecy is the cry of the people that God was unjust (vv. 17-20). The date is plainly indicated as the day on which a messenger arrived among the exiles with the tidings that Jerusalem had fallen. The prophet's dumbness is relieved, and as he had now the confirmation of the predictions uttered years before, he gains rapidly in popularity. The next requirement for a new era is a true shepherd (c. xxxiv). The shepherds had fed themselves and not the flock. God will care for His sheep and bring

them back to their native pasture. The faithless shepherds will be replaced by a David, who will guard the flock.

In cc. xxxv-xxxvi Ezekiel speaks of the land of Judah. Edom had taken part possession of Judah and was ambitious to gain control of the whole country. The prophet declares that their purpose will be thwarted, and Jahveh will desolate the whole land of Edom. The holy land has been desecrated by the foot of hostile peoples, who, like Edom, had striven to extend their borders at the expense of enfeebled Judah; but now Jahveh would hurl them back and they would bear their own shame. Mercy would be shown to Israel for the sake of God's name. There will be a deep repentance and a thorough cleansing, after which spiritual, as well as material, blessings will fall from heaven.

b. Progress towards the new era (cc. xxxvii-xxxix).—In c. xxxvii we have first the picture of the resurrection of the nation (vv. 1-14), occasioned by the despondent cry, "our bones are dried up, and our hope is lost" (v. 11). The prophet sees a vision in which the scattered bones come together, flesh grows upon them, and the wind blows breath into the re-made bodies. Secondly, there is the symbol of the two sticks (vv. 15-28), by which Ezekiel expresses his hope of a reunion of Israel and Judah under a Davidic king, and their welding into a holy nation, which shall dwell forever in the land God had given them.

Jahveh's final triumph over the heathen world is represented in the symbolic overthrow of Gog (cc.

xxxviii, xxxix). Gog is the leader of a vast invasion into the land of restored Israel. The Jews are represented as living securely in unprotected villages, and the great wealth they have accumulated has excited the cupidity of the barbarians. These Scythians—for such they are—are introduced so that God's power may be shown. The earth will shake, and a sword will be loosed against them. The mountains and valleys will be filled with the slain. The handles of their weapons will serve the people as firewood for seven years. The birds of prey will be invited to the great sacrifice.

c. The constitution of the restored state (cc. xl-xlviii).—These chapters are somewhat difficult to interpret. Their purpose is to revive the hopes of Israel. It is hard to say whether every detail has a definite meaning, or whether the prophet gives free reign to his fancy. Such a vast amount of land is allotted to the priests that there could not be very much left for the laity, at all events if we took the prophet literally. The date is specifically indicated, 572 B.C. (c. xl, 2). So that Ezekiel's mission reaches almost to the beginning of the great prophet of the exile, the deutero-Isaiah.

Four chapters (xl-xliii) are devoted to a description of the new temple, for which Ezekiel prepares plans like an architect. When the splendid edifice is completed the prophet sees Jahveh return to the new temple, even as he had seen him depart from the old (c. xliii, 2-4; *cf.* xi, 23). Then three chapters (xliv-

xlvi) are devoted to the temple regulations. The Levites are to perform the menial offices at the temple, and only priests of the line of Zadok shall officiate in the higher functions, and their duties are minutely prescribed. Land is assigned for the support of the priests, of the Levites and of the prince. Regulations are made for the various feasts and for the offerings to be made at them.

From the new temple a stream would issue which would fertilize all the barren land, and freshen the waters of the Dead Sea. The holy land is definitely bounded: on the east the Jordan is the limit, and on the west the Mediterranean. Israel will not again include any of the land across the Jordan, as in the olden days. Finally, in c. xlviii, the twelve tribes are assigned to their various portions. The temple will be approximately the centre, and seven tribes will lie to the north and five to the south. The temple was surrounded by a great square, and on each side there were to be three gates, so that there shall be a separate gate named after each tribe. As a sign of the permanent presence of their God, the city is to be re-named *Jahveh-shammah*,—"Jahveh is there."

The Minor Prophets

For convenience of study in their proper sequence, the books are treated, so far as possible, in their chronological order. It is a mistake for the student to read Hosea before Amos, for it is important to follow the line of historical development in Hebrew proph-

ecy. The dates cannot always be determined positively, but the order followed is approximately correct. It would, of course, be better to study all the prophets, major and minor, in their historical order, but it seemed necessary to cover each book completely in one place, and the book of Isaiah extends through so many centuries that some departure from the plan would be inevitable.

Amos

Amos has the distinction of being the first of the so-called writing prophets; that is, his messages have come down to us from his own hand or from the hand of a disciple. It is true that there are records of the sayings of earlier prophets,—of Samuel, Nathan, Elijah, Elisha, Micaiah and others; but in those cases the messages are casual and introduced as part of a historic narrative. In Amos we find a collection of his prophecies and nothing else, save editorial notes and one brief but precious biographical sketch.

The date of Amos fortunately can be definitely fixed within close limits, and in this we have one point on which all critics are agreed. The first verse is really a title page naming the author, his occupation, the subject and the date. For the date we have a triple control, since there are named the contemporary kings of Israel and of Judah, and an earthquake. Jeroboam II, the king of Israel, reigned 790-749 B.C., and Uzziah, the king of Judah, 782-740 B.C.; at least these years are approximately correct.

The period when both kings were on the throne was 782-749, and Amos may have prophesied anywhere in that period. Most scholars assign him to the latter part of the period, and we may fix his date as shortly before 750 B.C., preceding Isaiah, therefore, by about ten years. The reign of Jeroboam II is certain from the reference in vii, 9-11, and there is nothing in the book inconsistent with that period.

The third control is the phrase, "two years before the earthquake"; but this does not help us much, because we do not know when the earthquake occurred. There is a reference to an earthquake in the reign of Uzziah (Zech. xiv, 5), which made such an impression that it was still talked about some centuries later. As that is probably the earthquake referred to in the heading, this note fixes the date of Amos in the reign of Uzziah, and thus we have ample proof of the correctness of the title-page.[1] There is another point in the reference to the earthquake, the significance of which is usually overlooked. Since the date of Amos

[1] Mitchell thinks the passage a gloss in Zechariah, but holds that none the less it is the earthquake referred to in Amos i, 1 (*Int. Crit. Comm. in loc.*). Josephus says the earthquake came at the time Uzziah offered incense upon the altar in the temple against the protests of the high priest (2 Chr. xxvi, 16 ff.), and that a great rent was made in the temple by the shock (Ant. IX, x, 4). This belongs to the end of Uzziah's reign, and suggests a date close to 750. The date of Zech. ix-xiv is much disputed, and if xiv, 5, is a gloss the reference to the earthquake may be very late. It suffices for our purpose that it was long after the days of Amos.

is given as two years *before* this catastrophe, it is evident that this heading was written at least two years later than the day Amos spoke at Bethel, and it may have been long after that time. If the prophecies were written at once, as we may firmly assume, the heading was added subsequently.

From misunderstanding a passage in Jerome, it was held for fourteen centuries that there was a marked note of rusticity in the language of Amos. As a matter of fact, the language is classic and the style is not easily surpassed.

The book of Amos has come down to us in a singularly pure form, so far as the unity of authorship goes. There are but four brief passages that need be seriously questioned. There are many obscurities due to textual corruption, but practically the whole book comes from the hand of Amos. Of the passages which are most open to doubt, three are in the address against the nations: i, 9 f., is rejected because it is fragmentary and is so completely parallel with vv. 6-8 preceding; i, 11 f., is questioned because the strophe is incomplete, and the bitterness against Edom belongs to a later period, viz. the exile; ii, 4 f., is deemed spurious because Amos was not concerned with Judah, nor with the observance of the law, the language is very formal, and the phrases are Deuteronomic; ix, 8-15, is rejected for many reasons (see the summary in Harper, *Int. Crit. Comm.*, pp. 195 f.), among which we may note the plain indications of the exilic period in vv. 11, 14.

The brief biographical note in vii, 10-17, enables us to draw quite a picture of the personality of this seer. He emphasizes the fact that he does not belong to the professional order of prophets (v. 14); that is, he was not prophesying, as the priest Amaziah assumed, because he was paid for it. On the contrary, he names his business as that of a herdman and "dresser of sycamore trees," decidedly a humble occupation. His home was the small hamlet of Tekoa, some twelve miles south of Jerusalem, on the border of the Judean wilderness.

Therefore Amos came to Bethel practically as a foreigner. But he felt that Jahveh had called him to go to Israel to point out the dangers to which their sins exposed them, and because Jahveh had spoken he could not help abandoning his flock, as the disciples did their boats, and carrying God's message to the people living in darkness (iii, 8). And Amos would brook no interference in delivering his message. Amaziah the priest was sure to be goaded to frenzy by some of the herdman's utterances, especially v, 21-27. But he was shrewd enough not to fix on an ecclesiastical offence, but to wait for one that was political, even as the enemies of our Lord did. He did not have to wait long, for in the course of his visions the prophet cries in the name of Jahveh: "I will rise against the house of Jeroboam with the sword" (vii, 9). The priest sees his opportunity now, and is quick to act. First, he sends a report to the king, charging Amos with the crime of *lèse-majesté*, always a griev-

ous offense in an absolute monarchy, like contempt of court in judicial procedure. Second, he orders the seer to get him back to Judah, and to prophesy no longer at a royal sanctuary in Israel. Truly it is no exaggeration of George Adam Smith when he calls this "one of the great scenes in history" (*Twelve Prophets*, I, p. 115).

In reply Amos gives his brief *apologia*, and then turns upon his opponent and predicts for him the most extreme calamities, and reiterates in a word all that he has said about the punishment that would befall the nation, "Israel shall surely be led away captive out of his land" (v. 17);[2] and then he quietly resumes his series of visions. A true prophet of God is easily persecuted, but he can only be silenced by imprisonment or death. What became of this great soul we do not know. All that he says after Amaziah's interruption, so far as our records go, would scarcely have occupied five minutes. It is possible that having delivered the message Jahveh committed to him, he quietly returned to his home in Tekoa, and again gave himself to the care of his herd. It is possible that the quick termination of his prophetic career was due to violence, before which his great spirit was helpless.

It is always a great help to the understanding of a true prophet to know something of the conditions

[2] A Messianic prophecy like ix, 8-15, however beautiful in itself, fits in badly after a scene like this. The passage is much later than Amos.

which he faced; for a great seer is always preëminently a man of his age; he is of to-day, not of yesterday; he is one that can discern the signs of the times (Mat. xvi, 3). It is especially important to read Amos with a clear perception of the historic background.

Jeroboam II was the great grandson of Jehu, who had reached the throne of Israel by a bloody revolution. Jehu had maintained his place by paying tribute to Shalmanezer, the king of Assyria. During the century Israel had waged wars with Syria and Judah, but in the forty-one years of Jeroboam's reign there were no important wars. Judah had been soundly beaten by Jehoash, and Syria had been so hard pressed by the Assyrians that she was unable to molest her western neighbor. Israel therefore had a fine opportunity for internal development.

As a matter of fact, the people of the north failed to grasp the chance. They were living in a fool's paradise of imagined security. It was an era of great prosperity; wealth was rapidly accumulated; but there was a vast deal of luxury and vice, a poor preparation for the inevitable storm that was brewing. Amos perceived that the Assyrians would soon absorb Syria, and that Israel would be the next point of attack. Because he saw that condition God selected him to try to rouse Israel from their fatal ease.

The prophecies begin with the messages against the four neighboring nations (i, 3–ii, 3),[3] and that is fol-

[3] Ignoring the passages which are deemed later additions (*cf.* p. 216), and i, 2, which is a gloss from Joel iii, 16.

lowed by a forecast of Israel's punishment on the same grounds as that which is about to bring God's wrath upon the heathen (ii, 6-16). The offence in every case is an ethical one, and the details show how far Amos was ahead of his times. Cc. iii, iv may be grouped together, for their message is destruction; the prophet justifies his mission (iii, 1-8), and calls upon foreign nations to bear witness against Israel (iii, 9-15); he denounces the pleasure-loving women of Samaria (iv, 1-3); he recites the many efforts God had made to wake the people up by punishment (iv, 4-13). In cc. v, vi we find a dirge over Israel, conceived as already fallen, a common method of the prophets to impress their hearers with the certainty of the impending doom. There we find the earliest case of the personification, which later becomes so common, "The virgin of Israel is fallen." In this section Amos assails the sacrificial system, which apparently was all the religion there was in Israel at the time (v, 21-27). Amos regards the leaders as chiefly responsible for the bad condition (vi, 1-6); but insists that none will escape when the Assyrians invade the land (vi, 7-14). Cc. vii, 1–ix, 7 (omitting vii, 10-17, already discussed) picture a series of visions, all pointing to calamities coming upon the nation, and from some of which Israel is delivered by the prophet's intercession (ii, ix; note vii, 2-5). We see, then, that after Amaziah's interruption there is no further intercession, but the doom is predicted without any qualification.

The teaching of Amos is positive and thoroughly consistent. The burden of his message from beginning to end is punishment. The purpose of divine punishment is correction, not vengeance. The wrongs of Israel lie wholly in the realm of morals. Amos is emphatic in denouncing ceremonial religion as worse than worthless, for it is actually offensive to God. Yet a moral life requires close relation to God; note "Seek Yahweh, and ye shall live" (v, 6). Finally, Amos insists that God deals with Israel and with other nations in exactly the same way (i, 3–ii, 16; ix, 7).

Hosea

The date is correctly given in the heading. Hosea began to prophesy before 740 B.C. and continued, apparently, till the fall of Samaria, 722 B.C., and was therefore contemporary with Isaiah. He was a native of the Northern Kingdom, and so spoke to his own people. His book is full of obscurities and difficulties, the Hebrew being among the hardest in the Old Testament. Yet we can make out fairly well the great points in his teaching.

The history of the period throws an important light on these prophecies. Like Jeremiah, Hosea was called upon to stand helplessly by while his nation went down to irretrievable ruin. When the prophet first spoke Israel was a prosperous and powerful people; but in less than a score of years the Northern Kingdom was wiped off the map. There were six

kings in Samaria after Jeroboam II, but four of these were murdered by revolutionists, and another died in exile. The average reign was three years. Menahem took awful revenge on those who stood out against his usurpation (2 Ki. xv, 16), and he drained the resources of the nation further to pay the heavy tribute demanded by the Assyrian king (*ib.* vv. 19 f.).

There were three parties contending for supremacy, one leaning upon Assyria, another on Egypt, and a third advocating independence. Pekah, about 735 B.C., joined with Syria and others in a confederation to resist Assyria, and engaged in a suicidal war to try to force Judah into the alliance. In every way it appeared that Israel was made mad that the nation might be destroyed. The people suffered almost as much from internal strife as from the attacks of Assyria.

Hosea began prophesying along the same lines as his immediate predecessor Amos. The symbolic names given to his children (c. i) indicate the doom which he forecasts for Israel. Later, however, he became the exponent of the gracious element of God, and the change was wrought by a bitter personal experience. The book falls in two parts, i-iii; iv–xiv.

1. *Cc. i-iii.*—This is largely autobiography, probably was wholly such in its original form. The text is badly corrupted and disarranged, so that it is difficult to make a clear exposition. The best treatment is that by Professor Bewer, "The Story of Horsea's

Marriage," in *Amer. Jour. of Sem. Lang. and Lit.*, Jan., 1906, and that will be followed here. C. i, 2*b*, is a later gloss, so that Hosea was directed to marry a wife, not a prostitute. This should be followed directly by iii, 2, for in the ancient East wives were purchased. The story of the marriage and the birth of the children (c. i) was originally in the first person, from the prophet's own hand. After the birth of Lo-ammi, Hosea discovered that his wife was unfaithful. He was a righteous and stern man, and proposed to divorce her and put her to death, according to the law (*cf.* St. John viii, 5). This story is picked out of the confused mass in c. ii, thus:—

She is not my wife,
And I am not her husband (v. 2*b*—the divorce).
Upon her children I will have no mercy,
For they are children of harlotry (v. 4).
Their mother has played the harlot,
She that conceived them has done shamefully (v. 5*a*),
And now I will uncover her shame
Before the eyes of her lovers,
And none shall deliver her out of my hand (v. 10—exposure and punishment).

God, however, determines otherwise, for he commands the unhappy prophet thus: "Still go and love a woman, even though she loves another and is an adulteress, even as Jahveh loveth the sons of Israel, though they turn unto other gods" (iii, 1). Hosea obeys the divine message and learns thus the great lesson of the love of God unchanged by the people's infidelity.

The direction in the text for Hosea to marry a prostitute was so offensive that the older interpreters explained the whole story as an allegory. The text misses the point of the moral, that Hosea continued a love begun when his wife was pure, even after she became bad. This explanation makes the allegorical interpretation unnecessary.

There is left i, 10 f.–ii, 1, which appears to be a late interpolation designed to soften the prophet's hard sayings. In c. ii there is much that is Hosean, but as it is based on Hosea's complete experience, it belongs after c. iii. Vv. 6 f., 14, 15*b*, 19 f., 21-23, make a very suitable application of the story of Hosea to the relations of God to Israel.

2. *Cc. iv-xiv.*—This is a series of prophecies extending over several years, but most of them cannot be dated very confidently.

C. iv.—The prophet finds only vice in the land, and therefore purnishment must come. The condition is due to ignorance for which the priests are responsible (vv. 6-10). The people seek advice by divination, and depend upon sacrifice, and have become hopeless in their infidelity. The reference to Judah in v, 15 is a gloss (but see Harper, p. 262).

C. v.—The leaders, the priests and princes,[1] are held responsible for the evil conditions, though they should have been leaders in righteousness. They would seek Jahveh with splendid sacrifices, but they would not find Him, because their hearts were not

[1] For "house of Israel" is a gloss.

right. War is impending, and calamity will come, because Ephraim turned to foreign alliances rather than to their God.

C. vi. begins with a beautiful soliloquy by penitent Israel (v, 1-3), but Jahveh perceives that the goodness is but superficial, the people offering sacrifice rather than goodness, and burnt offerings rather than the knowledge of God. The sacrificing priests even commit murder like brigands, thus abusing the right of asylum, for Shechem was a city of refuge (Josh. xx, 7).

C. vii.—God desires to heal Israel—one of the notes of the divine graciousness—but the condition of the people makes it impossible. The royal house approves of the sin; the royal celebrations (coronation or birthday) became debauches. The nation resorts to foreign alliances, as if it could be saved by diplomatic strategy.

C. viii.—Again the prophet lays bare the political folly, for senseless revolutions are frequent (v. 4), and help is sought blindly from the very nation which will prove their undoing (v. 9). And on the religious side the people trust the golden calf, and all that it stands for, and have apparently forgotten Jahveh their maker.

C. ix.—Israel has long been like the faithless wife and she shall be sated with consorting with her lovers, becoming exiles. The prophets, i.e. the prophetic orders, no longer serve any good purpose, for they are now really madmen. The wickedness of the nation is complete and punishment is inevitable.

C. x.—Israel has been a prosperous people, but their wealth led to the increase of sin. They make

solemn treaties, but do not live up to them. The gods upon whom they have relied will be carried away as booty by the Assyrian invaders. The terrible crisis must have been pressing hard indeed when the prophet cries, "at daybreak shall the king of Israel be cut off" (v. 15).

C. xi, 1-11.—For the most part this is a beautiful picture of God's care for Israel in the time of the nation's infancy, and His pain at the necessity of the exile.

C. xi, 12–xii.—Ephraim's history is a steady record of wrong-doing from the very beginning. Jahveh had used all efforts to lead him in the right way, prophets like Moses having always served as the divine agents.

C. xiii.—Ephraim was once the most powerful tribe in Israel, but his strength has been used chiefly in the direction of great sins. Jahveh, who has done the people so much good, is now constrained to do them much harm; and the king and court which the people have set up will prove to be useless now.

C. xiv.—An appeal is made to the perishing nation to turn to God, who is ever able to heal.

This chapter is regarded as an addition by a much later hand, the arguments being well summarized by Harper (p. 408 f.). Verse 9 is certainly a reflection by a late editor.

Micah

Almost nothing is known of this prophet. The name, meaning *who is like Jahveh?*, is very common. He is called the Morashtite (i, 1; Jer. xxvi, 18) to distinguish him from others, with the same name,

and especially from another prophet, Micaiah, the son of Imlah, with whom the editor of Kings has confused him (1 Ki. xxii, 28). His home was apparently Moresheth-gath (i, 14), on the border of the Philistine plain. Like Amos, he was a countryman, and the list of towns in i, 10-15, all being in his home country, show the rather narrow range of his experience.

His career is placed in the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah (i, 1). Since there is testimony to the last reign in Jer. xxvi, 18, the names of Jotham and Ahaz are deemed an error, due to the similar dating of Micah's great contemporary (Is. i, 1). But in the passage cited, Uzziah is also named, so that there is no real identification. It is true that there are preserved no prophecies of Micah's which we can date earlier than the reign of Hezekiah, nevertheless Micah may have prophesied actually in the reign of the earlier kings. The evidence shows that Micah did speak in the early part of Hezekiah's reign, but it does not prove that he did not speak before that time. For we dare not assume that our collection is a complete edition of his utterances.

The book falls into three parts, i-iii; iv f.; vi f., only the first of which is now regarded as coming from Micah. Even in this small section there are many corruptions and obscurities.

1. *Cc. i-iii.*—Jahveh is coming to the earth, and the effect will be disastrous. The cause of the visitation is the sin of the people, and the chief cities are the

chief offenders. The corruption is so deep that a cure is deemed impossible (i, 1-9)[1] The next section is a "lamentation over Israel's doom," to borrow Smith's title, and he calls the piece (i, 10-16), "the most remarkable, as well as the most difficult and obscure of Micah's oracles" (*Int. Crit. Comm., in loc.*). Marti rejects the passage as spurious. Then the prophet points out the conspicuous sin of covetousness, which will result in a doom from which there is no escape (ii, 1-5). The people do not really want divine guidance, for they prefer their own evil way (ii, 6-11). To this a later hand has added a note promising a return from exile (ii, 12 f.). Micah dwells on the irresponsibility of the leaders, especially the judges, the prophets, and the priests, who exercise office for the sake of gain. The result will be the absolute destruction of Jerusalem (iii).

Micah's message is definite and simple. Jahveh sees the evil, and punishment is bound to follow. The highest classes are singled out as especially blameworthy. This is one of the few cases in which there is witness to the effect produced by prophetic threats. From Jer. xxvi, 19, we learn that as a result of this threat against Zion Hezekiah feared Jahveh and entreated His favor, so that Jahveh repented and averted the doom. The reformation of Hezekiah (2 Ki. xviii, 3-7), therefore, was inspired by the utterances of Micah the Morashtite.

[1] The prophet seems to speak as if Samaria were still standing; in that case the passage antedates 722, and that would agree with 2 Ki. xviii, 9 f., according to which Hezekiah began to rule before Sargon's destruction of Samaria. The time indicated by Hebrew tenses is never certain, and Samaria may be cited here as a horrid example.

2. *Cc. iv, v.*—This section begins with a passage (iv, 1-5) found also in Is. ii, 2-4, and is treated under *Isaiah.* There is a promise that Jahveh will gather the lame, the afflicted and the dispersed and will make a strong nation of them (iv, 6-8). Then we find another point of view. There is obvious satire on the helpless potentates who now bear rule, and the prediction of the exile, and the gloating of the nations over the fall of the proud people. Then the mood changes: the nations are warned that they have been led to Zion, not, as they imagine, for exultation, but for destruction (iv, 9–v, 1; *cf.* Joel iii). The restoration of the house of David is promised. The Messianic king shall reunite the nation as in David's time, and shall subdue completely the enemies of God's people (v, 2-9). In that day Jahveh will destroy horses and chariots and fortifications—so that there will be a reign of peace, and witchcafts and soothsayers and images—so that there will be a reign of righteousness (v, 10-15).

This section is Messianic throughout, and is a series of messages of consolation to a people in dire distress. It is now pretty generally conceded that the passage is later than Micah. The principal arguments for a later date are: (1) The rule of the house of David is ended. (2) The exile is presupposed as an existing condition. (3) Many of the thoughts are like those characteristic of the late prophets, like Joel, Zechariah, and deutero-Isaiah. (4) The tenor of the whole is absolutely at variance with that of cc. i-iii, and Micah could not flatly contradict himself.

We might suppose that Micah assumed a different tone after the reformation of Hezekiah, and thus answer 4; but the exile was a century and a half after Micah's time.

3. *Cc. vi, vii.*—This section is made up of a number of loosely connected oracles, and any grouping by subjects is difficult. At the beginning is a fragment in which Jahveh's course in dealing with the nation is justified (vi, 1-5). Then we find a soliloquy by a great soul who has sought and found the way to peace with God (vi, 6-8), one of the noblest utterances in Hebrew prophecy. Following there is an oracle about wickedness and punishment (vi, 9-16), which might have been spoken by Amos or Hosea, as it concerns the Northern Kingdom, and seems to be pre-exilic. Scholars are not agreed, however, as to the date or origin of the prophecy. It is quite unrelated to its context.

Then we come to a bewailing of the wicked conditions in which "there is none that doeth good, no, not one." It is a period in which no one can trust his neighbor, the prophet using words borrowed by our Lord to indicate the disturbance which the preaching of the Gospel would cause (vii, 1-6). Yet faith is still alive, for the seer believes that though "heaviness may endure for a night, joy cometh in the morning." The penitent accepts the punishment because it is the just result of sin. The return of the exiles is expected, and yet the land shall be desolate. The mighty enemy shall in the end be humbled to the dust. God is gracious and he will pardon Israel's transgression and remove the awful consequences of their sins (vii, 7-20).

Long before anyone questioned Micah's authorship of cc. iv, v, Ewald had satisfactorily demonstrated his theory, that this section was the product of another hand than Micah's. Now we should say other hands, for there seems to be a number of independent fragments. The arguments against this section are not really as convincing as those against c. iv f. Yet the Micaian authorship would be difficult to maintain. The note of despondency running through c. vii is not at all like Micah, and the literary style is markedly different.

Zephaniah

The heading traces the ancestry back four generations to Hezekiah. This may be the king of Judah of Isaiah's time, whence Cheyne says finely, "the spirit of revelation chooses the most unlikely instruments, calls Elisha from the plow, Amos from the herd, Zephaniah (it may be) from the steps of the throne."[1] The date of the prophet is given in the heading as the reign of Josiah (638-608 B.C.), the great grandson of Hezekiah; and he was therefore a contemporary of Jeremiah. The occasion of the prophecy is the invasion of the Scythians, which event figures also in some of the early prophecies of Jeremiah. For a time these barbarian hordes threatened the very existence of Judah.

The theme of the prophecies is the coming of the day of Jahveh. The approach will be marked by great destruction, undoing all the work of creation. Judah will go down in the ruin, and the Baals and Chemarims (idolatrous priests), all that have turned

[1] *Jeremiah and His Times*, p. 33.

from Jahveh will be destroyed. Punishment will come, especially upon the privileged classes; for the day of Jahveh is veritably a *dies iræ* (c. i).

Other nations, Philistia, Moab, Ammon, Ethiopia, and Assyria, will feel the hand of Jahveh, as well as Judah, for the devastation sweeps over the whole world (c. ii). Jerusalem is now pictured as the rebellious city, because she turned from her allegiance to Jahveh. Her princes, judges, prophets and priests have violated their sacred trusts. All this in spite of the favor Jahveh has shown His people (iii, 1-7). Then the seer turns to the future, when punishment shall have done its work, and the people will deal faithfully, and the enemy shall be cast out (iii, 8-20). This last passage is now commonly regarded as coming from a later hand than Zephaniah. It seems to me less difficult than similar Messianic sections in other books. It is not improbable that when the prophet perceived that the Scythians would be turned back, and knowing that the threatened disaster had brought about repentance, probably the great reform of Josiah, he might easily forecast a better day for the holy city.

Nahum

Nothing is known about the author save what we may conjecture from the book, and his home, Elkosh, is not identified, though it may be in the western part of Judah, whence Micah also came to be a prophet.

The subject of the prophecies is given in the head-

ing; it is an outpouring against Nineveh, such an outburst as would have delighted the soul of Jonah; and in this book the avenging hand of God is not stayed by sackcloth and fasting. The first part of the book (i, 2-10) is introductory, picturing an angry God ready to work terrible vengeance on his foes. The rest is a long-sustained cry of calamity against a nation for which there will be no one to feel pity, because the wicked ambition of Assyria has led to suffering by all the nations of the earth. The book is full of the awful pictures of war; the gathering of the assailants; the impressive armaments; the frightful charges of the chariots; the efforts to rally the wavering lines; the piles of dead bodies in the line of battle; the suffering in the siege; and the final collapse of Nineveh's defenses.

It is possible to fix the date of Nahum pretty accurately. There is a plain reference to the fall of Thebes in iii, 8 ff., and that happened in 661 B.C. The downfall of Nineveh is still future. Nineveh fell in 607 or 606 B.C., and the prophecy falls somewhere between those two dates. As the prophet looks upon the destruction of the city as very imminent indeed, his oracle probably is to be dated but a short time prior to 606.

It is quite generally held that i, 2-10, is a later addition. The piece is really an acrostic poem quite different in style from the other portions, and it really has no close connection with the rest, though of course it may serve as a sort of general introduc-

tion. For a fuller discussion of the question of unity, reference may be made to Smith (*Int. Crit. Comm.*, p. 682 f.).

Habakkuk

Like Jonah, this book contains a psalm (c. iii). The prophetic part is pretty short, but what we have is worthy of careful study.

The prophet lives in unhappy times, and he cannot understand why the people are oppressed and their God is still, or why there is no answer to his prayer (i, 2-4). The seer sketches the invincible army of Babylonia coming to punish the wrong-doers in Judah (i, 5-11). This power is threatening the very existence of a nation more righteous than itself; and the prophet is puzzled to know whether his devastation of the nations has no limits (ii, 12-17).

Upon his watchtower the prophet sees a vision, which he is ordered to record, for it is the solution of his problem (ii, 1-3). The mighty enemy will in the end be overreached by his greed. He is rapidly provoking the hostility of all the nations of the earth. Woe will finally fall upon the nation which builds its empire with blood. The images will not serve when the day of Babylon's doom shall come (ii, 4-20).

The date of c. i is clearly before the first capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar, 597 B.C., and the rest apparently follows that catastrophe. It is possible that there are several small additions to the original in c. ii, especially the woes.

The psalm in c. iii is assigned to Habakkuk in the heading, but the poem is quite unrelated to the prophecies. There are some verbal resemblances to Ps. lxxvii (*cf.* especially vv. 1 f.-15 with Ps. lxxvii, 17-20). It has features in common with the Psalms, note *selah*, *shigionoth*, *for the chief musician.* It may have been attached to Habakkuk because of a similarity of subject, the poem depicting troublous times. It is a fine picture of a faith in God which cannot be destroyed by disasters.

Obadiah

This is the only book in the Old Testament too short for chapter division. Nothing whatever is known of the author, for the attempts to identify him with other persons of that name are futile. The theme of the oracle is vengeance upon Edom. At the time of Jerusalem's fall, 586 B.C., the Edomites exalted in the downfall of their ancient foe, and assisted the victors in capturing the fugitives who might otherwise have escaped (vv. 10-14). The destruction which will befall Edom shall come from the people they have wronged.

In Jer. xlix, 7-22, there is a prophecy against Edom, in part verbally identical with Ob. 1-9. Many scholars have thought Jeremiah dependent upon Obadiah, but Bewer holds the reverse to be true, at least in part (*Int. Crit. Comm.*). The unity of the book has been abandoned by most scholars, vv. 15-21 being deemed appendices to the original brief prophecy.

The date of the original oracle is usually fixed at a period shortly after 586, to which the reference is so clear, for then the animosity towards Edom was bitter. The appendices might be as late as the Maccabean times when war was waged upon the Edomites by the Maccabees. Bewer, however, argues with some force that this part is older than Joel.

Haggai

The name means *festal*, or *my feasts*, whence it has been inferred that, like Malachi, this book is by one whose name is not known, the term coming from the fact that the prophecies were delivered on feast days. But there is little to support such a speculation, and Haggai is probably a real personal name.

It has been supposed that Haggai was born in Babylonia, and was therefore one of the returned exiles (see Mitchell, *Int. Crit. Comm.*, p. 27). Outside of his own book he is named only in Ezr. v, 1; vi, 14, along with Zechariah, but this is in a late Aramaic source.

The date given in i, 1, is undoubtedly correct, the second year of Darius, i.e. Darius Hystaspis (521-485 B.C.). He was therefore the contemporary and helper of Zerubbabel and Jeshua. There are four brief prophecies, all belonging to the same year, and after the manner of the later writers, each is carefully dated. There is a certain amount of narrative imbedded in the book, as in Jeremiah, and this may come from a disciple.

All of Haggai's prophecies deal with the same subject, the rebuilding of the temple. In 536 Sheshbazzar had come to Jerusalem with authority from Cyrus to rebuild the temple, but he had not been able to accomplish his purpose. In 520 Zerubbabel had arrived in Jerusalem with another company[1] of exiles, and with renewed authorization from Darius. The building of a temple was, however, a pretty big task; the resources of the people were small; Jerusalem was unprotected by walls, and its inhabitants were very few indeed. It was the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah which aroused the people to the great undertaking.

The four prophecies with their dates and a summary of their contents are as follows:

1. *C. i, 1-11*, delivered on the first day of the sixth month, 520 B.C., is an answer to the plea of the people that a suitable time had not yet arrived for undertaking the erection of the temple. Haggai notes that they have found opportunity to build fine houses for themsleves. He points out the general unsatisfactory condition of affairs, and explains the poverty as a visitation from the God whose temple lies in ruins.

There follows an historical section (vv. 12-15) describing the effect of the prophecy. Zerubbabel, the governor, Jeshua, the high priest, and the people responded promptly to the appeal, and the work on the temple was begun twenty-three days later.

2. *C. ii, 1-9.* This oracle, delivered on the twenty-first day of the seventh month, was spoken to relieve

[1] Haggai may have been a member of this band.

the despondency produced by the comment of some of the old people who remembered the temple of Solomon, destroyed sixty-six years before, because the new temple would evidently be much less splendid. The prophet declares that Jahveh will bring wealth and glory to this temple.

3. *C. ii, 10-19,* is spoken on the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month. Certain questions about defiling are asked of the priests; from which the prophet points the moral: before the temple was begun, the people suffered much adversity, from blasting, mildew and hail; but now Haggai declares there will be a blessing from Jahveh in the abundant yield of the soil.

4. *C. ii, 20-23,* uttered on the same day, though the month is not given. This is a personal message to Zerubbabel, the governor, assuring him that Jahveh will cause a turmoil among the nations from which he will profit. There is probably a reference to some historical event, of which we have no knowledge. It is possible that the allusion is to some movement of the Samaritans, such as that described in Ezr. iv, 1-3.

Zechariah

This book must be considered in two sections, for cc. i-viii belong to Zechariah, while cc. ix-xiv certainly do not.

We find both the father, Berechiah, and the grandfather, Iddo, named (i, 1), though in Ezr. v, 1; vi, 14,

Iddo is given as Zechariah's father.[1] Iddo is given among the priests who went up from exile with Zerubbabel (Neh. xii, 4). Zechariah must therefore have been a priest, and a very young man at this time.

Zechariah began to prophesy two months later than Haggai, and his prophetic work lasted certainly two years (i, 1; vii, 1). Mitchell gives good reasons to believe that he labored in Jerusalem for many years (*Int. Crit. Comm.*, p. 83). What was said above of the occasion of Haggai's prophecies applies here also.

1. *Cc. i-viii.*—These prophecies fall into three sections:—

a. C. i, 1-6.—This is an introduction exhorting the people who have long been negligent to return to Jahveh, and to leave off their evil doings, and noting that the calamities which the earlier prophets had predicted had all come to pass.

b. C. i, 7–vi, 23.—Here we have a series of eight visions, and as this is the main body of Zechariah's surviving works, we may regard the vision as indicating his prophetic method. Amos, Ezekiel and other prophets had made use of the vision, but no other relies on it so exclusively.

(1) C. i, 7-17.—*The vision of the horsemen among the myrtle trees.* This vision receives an elaborate interpretation, which comes from the angel who converses with the prophet. The varicolored horses carry messengers, who have been making a tour of the earth,

[1] This may be correct (see Mitchell, *Int. Crit. Comm.*, p. 81).

and they report a general state of peace. Jahveh's message comes from the angel, and is that Jerusalem shall share the blessings of this condition of peace, for the nations have punished Judah more than Jahveh desired.

(2) C. i. 18-21.—*The four horns and four smiths*, the horns, like those of wild animals, representing the nations which have desolated Judah,[2] and four indicating probably the four quarters of the earth. The four workmen are to cast down the horns, so as to render them harmless, presumably from the custom of cutting off the horns of fractious cattle (*cf.* Jer. xlviii, 25; Ps. lxxv, 10).

(3) C. ii, 1-13.—*The man with the measuring line*, who is about to take the measurements of Jerusalem, for the city would have a dense population, and Jahveh would be a wall of fire to protect the city. There follows an appeal to the people to leave their homes in Babylonia and return to the city of the divine glory, to which even other nations will flock.

The prophet sees the weakness of Jerusalem, and the difficulty of the situation. Without walls Jerusalem was too vulnerable to serve as a suitable habitation for the people. Those who returned from exile for the most part settled in the smaller Judean towns. Three quarters of a century later, Jerusalem practically had no population (Neh. vii, 4), but with the restoration of the walls, Nehemiah was able to induce people to take up their abode there (Neh. xi, 1 f.).

(4) C. iii, 1-10.—*Jeshua and Satan.* Jeshua was standing before the angel and Satan at his right hand to oppose him. The filthy garments were taken from the priest, and he was clothed with the rich apparel of

[2] The horn as a symbol of destruction occurs in 1 Ki. xxii, 11

his office. Promises are made to Jeshua that if he is faithful to Jahveh, he shall be the priest of the new temple.

This is one of the three places in the Old Testament where Satan is mentioned, the others being Job i, ii; 1 Chr. xxi, 1. The office of Satan is not clear here, save that he is hostile to the reëstablishment of the priesthood and the temple. The vision refers to some event of which we have no independent knowledge. We may infer, however, that the priest had been accused of wrong, and was deprived of his robes of office. Jeshua is acquitted before God, and restored to his full privileges.

(5) C. iv, 1-14.— *The golden candlestick*, with a bowl or reservoir on top and seven lamps, each supplied with oil from the central reservoir, and beside the candlestick or candelabrum are two olive trees. The seven lamps are interpreted to signify the eyes of Jahveh which are able to see all that goes on in the world. The two olive trees, meant to serve as a source of supply to keep oil in the lamps, are declared to be "the two anointed ones" or Messiahs, and that means Zerubbabel and Jeshua.

We note that an interval elapses between the fourth and fifth visions (v. 1), the seer being roused up in order that he might tell his vision. Most scholars omit vv. 6*b*-10*a*, 12, as an addition to the vision (see, e.g., Mitchell, *Int. Crit. Comm.*). In v. 10*b* we do find the answer promised in v. 6*a*. Moreover the whole vision seems clearly to point to the two leaders, while vv. 6*b*, 10*a* give a glowing promise to Zerubbabel alone. The civil ruler Zerubbabel has precedence in Haggai, while the ecclesiastical head Jeshua is more prominent in Zechariah. The passage interpolated may be due to one who sought an explanation of the one candelabrum upon which the seven lamps depended, and whose interest lay in the political life. This vision, like the preceding, shows that a government was not established in the post-exilic community without overcoming serious opposition. It was only by the appeals of the prophets that the people were induced to recognize the authority of the governor and the priest.

(6) C. v, 1-4.—*The flying roll.* An immense book roll, fifteen by thirty feet, spread out flat goes over the land like an aëroplane. On it were written curses to drive the dishonest and perjurers from the earth. A written curse was supposed to have greater efficacy than a spoken one. Thus the curses upon the Phœnecian sarcophagi were inscribed to deter people from molesting the remains.

(7) C. v. 5-11.—*The woman in the ephah.* The woman symbolizes the wickedness of the land (*cf.* the rôle of Eve in the Eden story). She is put into the *ephah*, a large measure, whose mouth is closed with a mass of lead. Two celestial beings whose wings are moved by the wind carry the imprisoned woman to the land of Shinar, i.e. Babylonia, the home of idolatry and evil.

(8) C. vi, 1-8.—*The four chariots*, differentiated by the color of the attached horses, are destined to traverse the earth, one to each point of the compass.[3] The only one whose significance is explained is the one going to the north country, which really means Babylonia, and where Jahveh's spirit is quiet.

The vision is obscure, possibly because incomplete, and the meaning is doubtful. Probably we should infer that Jahveh was now satisfied with the punishment which had befallen the land of captivity, and that no further vengeance was to be looked for.

There follows a passage (vi, 9-15), which is evidently based upon some current event which seemed important to the prophet. Some men had just come up from exile, and they had brought some silver and gold as offerings, out of which crowns were to be made and placed upon the head of Jeshua the high-

[3] *Cf.* the four horns of i, 18.

priest, as a further sign that he shall build the temple and be chief ruler therein. With this may be associated the message to Zerubbabel (iv, 6-8). The meaning is very like that of the vision of Jeshua and Satan (c. iii).

c. Cc. vii, viii.—*The inquiry of the men of Bethel, and the prophecies based upon it.* In the fourth year of Darius, 518 B.C., messengers came from Bethel to intreat the favor of Jahveh and to learn whether, in view of the new conditions, they are to continue observing the fast of the fifth month, which commemorated the destuction of the city and temple by Nebuchadrezzar. The prophet finds little to commend in this fast, or in that of the seventh month, to bewail the murder of Gedeliah and the flight to Egypt. Though a priest, Zechariah holds the prophetic view about the value of fasting and sacrifice, and he urges that what Jahveh has always desired of his people is righteousness and justice. The sufferings of the nation are due to their failure to obey these prophetic commands (c. vii).

But now conditions are changed. Jahveh is again favorable to Zion, and the city shall be safe for old and young, and be filled with returning exiles (viii, 1-8). In this new era, since the temple was rebuilt, there will be great prosperity, for Jahveh will keep His word for good as he had done for evil (vv. 9-17). All the fasts of the exiles shall become the feasts of the restoration, and people from all over the world will flock to the holy city, because it is known that God may be found there.

The main points in Zechariah's teaching are the freeing of the land from sin; the establishment of a firm government, civil and ecclesiastical; the era of peace in the whole world; the constant return of the exiles to the holy land; the reëstablishment of the religion of Jahveh; and the conversion of the nations.

2. *Cc. 9-14.*—Nearly 300 years ago it was seen that it is difficult to assign these prophecies to the age of Zechariah. As xi, 12, is quoted in Mat. xxvii, 9, as Jeremian, it was at first supposed that ix-xiv belong to the pre-exilic period. But almost every possible date has been advocated in more recent years. Indeed there is scarcely any part of the Old Testament about which there is such complete diversity of opinion. Scholars hold varied theories about the unity, some believing that all comes from one hand; others separating ix-xi and xii-xiv; and still others seeing different originals grouped together here. For our purpose it is only necessary to say that the whole comes from the Greek period, later than 332 B.C., and so 200 years or more after Zechariah, and that the evidence for the composite character of the section is pretty convincing. The reader desiring further information may profitably consult the elaborate treatment by Michell (*Int. Crit. Comm.*, pp. 232-259).

These prophecies show markedly the apocalyptic notes. There are two which are especially plain: the nations are not to be converted, but destroyed; and the meaning is expressed mystically in figures and

symbols. The last note may be due to the danger of plain speaking, so that the oracles must be veiled in mystery.

It is convenient to divide the material into two parts:

a. Cc. ix-xi.—The downfall of the nations, especially of Tyre, is confidently predicted, from which will result a state of tranquility, greatly to the profit of Judah, whose king shall come in humility and peace (ix, 1-10). The prisoners shall be delivered, and the sons of Zion be conquerors by the help of their God (ix, 11-17). The responsibility for the bad state of affairs is placed upon the foreign leaders ("the shepherds," v. 3); nevertheless Jahveh will visit his flock, and strengthen his people so that they shall overthrow their enemies (x, 1-7). Though many of God's people continue to abide in heathen lands, they shall be faithful to Him, and, overcoming all obstacles, He will in the end bring them back (x, 8-12). The terrible fall of the shepherds invites a lamentation (xi, 1-3). There follows the symbolic oracle on the two staves, "Delight" and "Union," each being the sign of a covenant, one with all the nations, and the other between Judah and Israel. The shepherd's crooks are broken to indicate the abrogation of the agreements (xi, 4-14). There will arise "a hireling shepherd," who will not care for the flock, but will devour them; and disaster will come upon him (xi, 15-17).

b. Cc. xii-xiv.—We note that this section has an independent heading (xii, 1). Israel is, however,

used of the nation, not of the Northern Kingdom. Jerusalem is beset on all sides by foes, but the attack will recoil upon the assailants, for Jahveh "will seek to destroy all the nations that come against Jerusalem" (xii, 1-9). A new day is coming for the house of David and for the holy city; but there will be a great mourning, in which the princes, the prophets, the priests and every other class shall mourn separately; the weeping is due to remorse for sin and for cruelty to some unnamed victim of their wrong (xii, 10-14). In the new day the order of prophets will be banished from the land; for any decent man will be ashamed to own up to a prophetic title (*cf.* Am. vii, 14), for the prophets have not healed, but wounded (xiii, 1-6). There is a cry for vengeance on the shepherd; then the remnant shall be refined and purified, so that right relations will be established between God and His people (xiii, 7-9;[4] *cf.* Hos. i, 10). A great blow is about to fall upon Jerusalem; but the day of Jahveh shall come with its mysterious accompaniments, showing that He will avenge His people's wrongs (xiv, 1-8). Jahveh will rule all the nations of the earth; therefore Jerusalem will be safe again, and people will flock into it (xiv, 9-11). A plague will fall upon those who have oppressed Jerusalem; further, these nations will destroy each other, so that their riches will fall to Judah (xiv, 12-15). The heathen who survive shall

[4] Mitchell unites this to the other shepherd passage (xi, 4-17), entitling the whole "the two shepherds" (*Int. Crit. Comm.*).

become proselytes, or else suffer all kinds of disasters. In that day nothing will remain that is common or unclean, even the bells on the horses bearing the inscription "holy unto Jahveh" (xiv, 16-21).

Malachi

As *Malachi* is a common noun, meaning *my messenger*, a suitable designation for a prophet, it is an open question whether we know the name of the seer. The use in the heading is quite like that in other books, however, and as all Hebrew names are combinations containing nouns, usually adding the name of a deity, we may, with a reasonable degree of probability, accept Malachi as the prophet's name.

The theme of the prophecies is found at the end—"remember ye the law of Moses" (iv, 4). The book might well be regarded as a short sermon with that appeal as its text. Most of the oracles point out the way in which that law is violated. After an introductory passage (i, 1-5) contrasting Jahveh's attitude toward Israel and Edom (Jacob and Esau), the wrong-doing of the priesthood is noted. The prophet does not attack the priestly system as such, as Amos and others do; but he assails its abuses. The priests place polluted bread upon God's altar; they offer the blind and lame as sacrifices (*cf.* Dt. xv, 21), such as the governor would not accept as tax; the sacred offices are performed in a perfunctory way, as if it were a wearisome task. Jahveh is so incensed that He would rather the doors of the temple were closed,

for He finds more real devotion among the heathen (i, 6-14). A curse will fall upon priests who so lightly regard their sacred office, and they will be defiled; for they are faithless to the holy covenant with Levi and the priest's lips no longer keep knowledge (ii, 1-9). There is a general tendency to break down the lines of demarcation between the Jews and the heathen. There was a liberal party whose catching slogan was, "have we not all one father? hath not one God created us?"; but it was used to justify marriage with foreigners, resulting in the corruption of religion. The people cruelly divorce their Jewish wives in order to marry a heathen, to the wearying of a God who opposes the breaking of any kind of a covenant (ii, 10-17). Jahveh will send His messenger,[1] and his coming will bring distress, for the purifying of the priests will be to them a painful process, but it will result in the restoration of the cult so that it will meet with the favor of God (iii, 1-6). The people as well as the priests have violated the law, in that they have not paid their just dues to the temple. Let them once do that and Jahveh will rain blessings through the windows of heaven (iii, 7-12; *cf.* 2 Ki. vii, 2). The people were despondent and could see no gain from serving God. Yet those who persisted in their loyalty in the face of adverse circumstances would be recorded in Jahveh's "book of remembrance" (iii,

[1] "My messenger"=Malachi iii, 1, and this use is urged in support of the view that the prophecy is anonymous.

13-18). The day comes when the decision will be made between the good and the evil, the former treading down the latter (iv, 1-3). The book closes with the appeal to obey the law and the prediction of the advent of Elijah to reconcile fathers and children (iv, 4-6).

The unity of the book is generally admitted. The only part which is seriously questioned is iv, 4-6, which is sometimes regarded as an addition to point the moral. We note the tendency towards a catechetical style (i, 2-6, 7 ; ii, 14, 17 ; iii, 7, 13).

Unlike most of the prophets, the book is undated, possibly because it was originally attached to some other collection. Internal evidence, however, points to the period of Nehemiah's second administration. Neh. xiii and Malachi reveal exactly the same conditions, except on one point, a fact overlooked by Smith (*Int. Crit. Comm.*) ; that is with regard to the lawlessness of the priests, against whom there is nothing said in Nehemiah. Nevertheless, the prophecy fits that period better than any other we know, and the date is pretty surely in the neighborhood of 430 B.C.

Joel

Nothing is known of Joel save that he was the son of an unknown Pethuel (i, 1). It is plain, however, that Joel, unlike the earlier prophets, is in close touch with the priests and is a sympathetic upholder of the cult.

It was formerly held that Joel was one of the earliest prophets, but that position is no longer deemed tenable. As indications of date we notice that (1) the priests are the rulers, and that there is neither king nor prince; (2) Judah stands alone, so that Israel has already perished; (3) the predominant interest is

in the temple ritual; (4) the apocalyptic tendency is conspicuous. These considerations point to a date later than Ezra, and as there is no clear indication of the Greek period, we may assign the book to about the middle of the fourth century.

There has been much discussion about the unity of the book. Some scholars have advocated a theory that i-ii, 27, is independent of the rest; some maintain that the whole is a unit; Bewer, one of the latest commentators, accepts all but iii, 3-8, and a few other scattered verses.

The style is beautiful and the imagery fine. For convenience of study the book is best divided into three sections: i, 1–ii, 17; ii, 18-27; iii.

1. *The locusts and the drought.*—There is first the plague of locusts the like of which no person, not even the oldest men, had seen before. Swarm succeeds swarm, each one devouring what its predecessor had left. The locusts are compared to a great army bent on destruction (i, 2-7[2]). The devastation is so great that offerings can no longer be found for the temple, and all classes of people are called upon to mourn the awful desolation. The priests are urged to lament and to call the people to a great fast (i, 8-14).

[2] From this simile some of the older interpreters supposed that the locusts were the figure of an invading army. But it would be inconceivably stupid to use locusts figuratively for an army and then to compare them to an army.

Then there is pictured the great drought, called "the day of Jahveh," and so a veritable *dies iræ*. The seeds rot in the ground, and the thirsty beasts pant in the field, for even the water brooks are dried up (i, 15-20).

The vision returns to the locusts, and they are evidence of the dreadful day of Jahveh. In a glowing and eloquent passage the awful invasion is pictured, again under the figure of an army (ii, 1-11). The visitations are sent from God, and as He is gracious, He may repent and drive the invaders back. To win the favor of God the people are called upon to repent, and to gather for a great fast, at which the priests are to cry to Jahveh not to make His people an object of scorn to the nations (ii, 12-17).

2. *The blessings which Jahveh will give* (ii, 18-27).— Jahveh heard the prayer, and promised to give again the products of the earth and to drive away the locusts; the rain will fall again, the cattle will rejoice and the parched land will yield its increase. The people will thus have evidence that God is in their midst.

A still greater blessing will God give; for He will pour out His spirit upon all flesh, so that all classes of people shall become prophets; the spiritual outpouring will be accompanied by wonderful convulsions in the natural world; salvation shall be found at Jerusalem (ii, 28-32).

3. *The destruction of the heathen nations* (c. iii).— The Jews will return to Jerusalem, and all the nations of the world shall be gathered in the valley of Je-

hoshaphat.[3] These nations have wronged Israel by plunder and selling the captives as slaves, and now their day has come. The hosts will be cut down like grain. Great blessings will result for the people of God.

Jonah

This book is peculiar in the prophetic collection in that, with the exception of the poem in c. ii, it is almost wholly biographical. It is much like the prophetic stories in the historical books, especially those about Elijah. The book is particularly noticeable for its broad view that God is interested in the welfare of other nations than Israel. Perhaps the greatest lesson taught in the book is that it is impossible for the prophet of God to disobey. The book is full of the marvelous. The author is apparently concerned much more with impressive moral lessons than with exactness of description.

Jonah was commanded to preach in Nineveh, to turn it from its wickedness. The prophet recoiled from trying to save a people he would like to have destroyed, and starts towards Spain, in exactly the opposite direction from Nineveh. He was brought back by a great fish—there is no mention of a whale—and the command was repeated (iii, 1). This time Jonah obeys and proclaims the speedy destruction of Nineveh. The Ninevites, however, repented when they heard the threat, and there was a general fast, in which

[3] The word means *Jahveh judges*. The valley of Jehoshaphat, therefore, is the place where the divine judgment will be visited upon the heathen.

even the animals were forced to participate, and the whole population and the beasts were garbed in sackcloth. To Jonah's intense mortification, Jahveh repented in view of this situation, the place was not destroyed, and the prophet was reproved for his narrowness.

The story cannot be taken as a literal record of facts, though the older interpreters so understood it. There may be a small historical element, though it is difficult to pick out anything very satisfactory, and it is unnecessary, for the point of the tale lies not in the story but in the moral. The book shows the thoroughgoing priestly conception of religion. The thing which God supremely desires is fasting and sackcloth. The more general these are, the more God is pleased and the more likely He will be to intercede for His people.

The poem has no fitness in the story. The poet speaks of being cast into the seas, used, as often in the Psalms, figuratively of distress, and the compiler has taken his thought very literally, or found in these phrases sufficient justification for the incorporation of the poem into the story. The poem is not a prayer for deliverance from a present danger, but a thanksgiving for a danger that is past.

The book is not by Jonah the son of Amittai, a pophet of the time of Jeroboam II (2 Ki. xv, 25). There is no heading containing a date or author. All indications point to the post-exilic period, but the book is too general to afford data for determining its date very accurately. Bewer holds that it is as early as the third century because Jonah is named by Sirah (xlix, 10).

V.

THE HAGIOGRAPHA

THE *Kethubim* is the Hebrew name of the third part of the canon. This word means *writings*, and the more commmon term *Hagiographa*, which is Greek, merely prefixes an adjective *sacred*. It is rather absurd to apply to the latest part of the Old Testament a term which better fits the whole, for surely the witings in this division are not more sacred than the others.

This part of the canon comprises a miscellaneous collection of books, for in it writings of every kind are gathered, all that had not found a place under the divisions of the law or of the prophets. From a literary point of view, we note that there is a collection of poetical books,—Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Canticles, Lamentations. Two of these again, Canticles, Lamentations, are classified with the *Megilloth* (see below), and two others, Job, Proverbs, with the wisdom books. In this chapter all the books of this division of the canon receive some notice except Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, which have been discussed in connection with the other historical books (Ch. III, pp. 147 ff.).

The Book of Psalms

This book contains the religious poetry of the nation. The poems are of many kinds, and they come from many hands and many ages. We shall fail to

grasp the scope of the Psalter unless we realize that it is the product of a national life, the great souls breathing into beautiful rythm the emotions of their various ages and schools. The religious concept of a nation's whole history are gathered here, hence the Psalms serve so admirably as the world's hymn book. In the Hebrew Bible the Psalms are divided into five books, as follows: 1, Pss. i-xli; 2, xliii-lxxi; 3, lxxiii-lxxxix; 4, xc-cvi; 5, cvii-cl. The end of each book is marked by a refrain, "Blessed be Jahveh," etc., and at the end of 2 there is the colophon, "the prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended," though Davidic psalms occur in all of the other books. This fact shows conclusively that our book is made up of collections which once existed separately.

Many of the psalms have titles, giving the character of the poem, the name of the author, and sometimes a historical setting. Those which are devoid of titles are called *orphans*. In book 1 the orphans are i, ii, x, xxxiii, and all the others are ascribed to David. Ps. x is really a part of Ps. ix, and Ps. i is introductory, so that there are only two poems which are not Davidic. Book 1 is therefore peëminently a Davidic collection. In book 2 there is first a group of psalms ascribed to "the sons of Korah" (xl-xlx),[1] then one ascribed to Asaph (l), a goup of Davidic pslams (li-lxv, lxvii-lxx), one to Solomon (lxxii), and two are

[1] Ps. xliii has no title because it is really the third stanza of Ps. xlii.

orphans (lxvi, lxxi). In the main, therefore, this book is made up of two collections,—a Korahitic and a Davidic group.

Book 3 also consists chiefly of two collections, one ascribed to Asaph (lxxiii-lxxxiii), the other to "the sons of Korah" (lxxxiv-lxxxviii). One psalm is Davidic (lxxxvi), one is assigned to Ethan the Ezrahite (lxxxix), and one is assigned both to the sons of Korah and to Heman the Ezrahite (lxxxviii). It is significant that there is but a single Davidic psalm in the book following the colophon "the prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended" (lxxii, 20). In book 4 one psalm is ascribed to Moses (xc), two to David (ci, ciii), while all the others are orphans, so that this book consists mostly of anonymous poems. In book 5 there are many Davidic psalms (cviii-cx, cxxii, cxxiv, cxxxi, cxxxiii, cxxxviii-cxlv), these psalms not being grouped as in other books, but for the most part widely scattered. One psalm is ascribed to Solomon (cxxvii), and the rest are orphans.

To sum up, there are seventy-three psalms credited to David, of which seventy are found in three books, thirty-seven in book 1, eighteen in book 2, and fifteen in book 5; twelve are assigned to Asaph, all but one in book 3; eleven are ascribed to the sons of Korah, seven in book 1 and four in book 3; two are credited to Solomon (lxxii, cxxvii) and one each to Moses (xc), to Ethan (lxxxix), and to Heman (lxxxviii), in a composite title.

In the Septuagint the titles differ very much from

those of the Hebrew text, many orphans especially being assigned to David, showing the tendency to increase the number of Davidic poems. In the Greek text, further, there is a difference of arrangement: Pss. ix and x are combined as one, as they were originally, and to make the total number 150 there is an additional psalm in the Lxx which is not found in the Hebrew text.

To return to the Hebrew titles, it is a surprising fact that the Asaphic collection (l, lxxiii-lxxxiii) is broken, one psalm being separated from its fellows. These must originally have stood together, and the two parts are now disjointed by the insertion of an essentially Davidic collection. In the same way the Korahitic collection is forced asunder by the insertion of the before-named Davidic collection and the Asaphic group. This confusion all occurs in books 2 and 3, and these two books must therefore have previously been one, containing essentially three original collections,—a Davidic, an Asaphic and a Korahitic. The division between books 4 and 5 seems also to be purely arbitrary, the paslms being of a similar character, so that the Psalter is naturally divided into three great collections,—i-xli, xlii-lxxxix, xc-cl.

There is another feature of the Psalms which shows that certain groups were originally separate and edited by different hands, and that is the use of different names for God, which characterizes certain collections. To take the three great groups outlined above, in the first the collection is Jahvistic, Jahveh occur

ring 272 times, Elohim 15 times (the figures are from Driver's *Introd.*); the second is Elohistic, Elohim occurring 207 times, Jahveh 74; but 31 of these are in the second Korahitic group (lxxxiv-lxxxix), which evidently was not edited by the Elohist. In the third part Jahveh is used exclusively, save in a part of Ps. cviii, which is a duplicate. That this phenomenon is not an accident appears from the fact that one psalm occurs in two of the groups, in one of which it is Jahvistic (Ps. xiv) and in the other Elohistic (Ps. liii). It appears therefore that one great group represents the collection of the Elohistic school, while the others are Jahvistic. It is plain that the use of Elohim in these psalms is for the most part the result of editing. It seems clear, therefore, that the Elohistic group must have been used by a different body from those who sang the Jahvistic songs. Unfortunately our knowledge of the conditions of Hebrew life is not sufficient to enable us to be more exact. We can be sure, though, that in the edited Psalter we see abundant evidence of two schools of thought and two parties in worship.

The statements above about the assumed authors is based upon the common translation in the English Bible,—"a psalm of David," "of Asaph," etc. As a matter of fact, a rather more strictly correct rendering is "a psalm to (or for) David"; and this would imply that the "Davidic" psalms are those which had been dedicated to David. Nevertheless it is generally agreed that the editors who composed these head-

ings, long after the psalms were written, really meant the designation "to David" to involve authorship.

There is much in these headings besides the supposed name of the author. There are several different words to indicate the character of the poem,—*psalm*, *prayer*, *michtam*, *maschil*, *song*. There are numerous notes which have something to do with the music, some of the terms being of uncertain meaning. Some give the occasion for which the song is adapted, and have the character of rubrics: thus "a song for the Sabbath day" (Ps. lcii), "a psalm for the thank-offering" (Ps. c), "a prayer of the afflicted" (Ps. cii), "a song for the dedication of the house" (Ps. xxx). There is a curious case in which a rubric has strayed from the margin into the body of the song, and thus producing a curiously inappropriate sentence in the body of the psalm; for "Bind the sacrifice with cords to the horns of the altar" (Ps. cxvii, 27) is evidently a direction for the priest's assistants, indicating an act to be done while the choir was singing.

There are several headings which give the supposed historic occasion of the psalm. These are all in the Davidic groups. Those with such notes are vii, xviii, xxxiv, li, lii, liv, lvii, lix, lx, lxiii, cxlii. Except the first three and the last, these are in the second great collection, the Elohistic book. The compilers do not seem to have been very well informed, for in the heading to Ps. xxxiv we find *Abimelech* as the Philistine king, to escape whom David feigned madness, whereas the name should be *Achish* (1 Sam. xxi, 12 ff.). There

is nothing in the poem to make it particularly appropriate to that occasion, and that comment applies to all of the historic notes. David's life was well known, for the book of Samuel is older than the collected Psalter, and certain editors attempted to fit psalms to as many incidents as possible, especially to the period of Saul's persecution. But the poems seldom show any close connection with the incident given in the heading.

There is an interesting group of psalms in book 5 (Pss. cxx-cxxxiv), often called the Pilgrim Psalter, in which each song has the heading "a song of ascents." The word rendered *ascents* is pretty comprehensive, meaning *stairs*, *steps*, *stories*, *ascents*. Therefore it is impossible to be certain of the sense intended here. Many hold that these songs were sung by the pilgrims who went up to the annual festivals at Jerusalem. Others contend that the *going up* is from the captivity in Babylonia, and many of these songs do fit well in the period of the Restoration. It is, at all events, a collection of very inspiring hymns.

Another striking collection is the Hallel group, many of which begin or end with the word *hallelujah* ("praise Jahveh"). Briggs includes four small collections in this group,—civ-cvii; cxi-cxvii; cxxxv-cxxxvi; cxlvi-cl. The note of praise is found in other psalms, but it is preëminent in this collection, especially in the last group, in which that note is sustained throughout. Grander hymns of praise cannot be found anywhere.

There are several historic poems, those which review the history of Israel after the prophetic manner, to show how good Jahveh was to His people, and how poorly they requited His kindness. The most perfect examples are Pss. cv, cvi.

Another group comprises the penitential psalms (vi, xxxii, xxxviii, li, cii, cxxx, cxliii), all appointed for the service of Ash-Wednesday, and all but two, cii, cxxx, ascribed to David. Penitence is expressed here and there in many other psalms, but it stands out strongly in this group. It would be difficult to find another lyric in which a soul is laid bare in such touching terms as in Ps. li, marred unfortunately by the later addition at the end (vv. 18, 19). The psalm is really anti-sacrificial, like the prophets, and like Ps. xl, but some editor has composed an appendix in which Jahveh's joy in sacrifices is brought out boldly.

There is an erotic poem in the collection, and the character of the psalm is fearlessly indicated by an editor who put in the title "a song of loves" (Ps. xlv). It is one of the royal psalms, and seems to be a celebration of the king's marriage. From its subject-matter it is comparable to the poems in the Song of Songs. On the basis of an allegorical interpretation this song has been received in a Messianic sense, and therefore is one of the proper psalms for Christmas Day.

As there are wisdom books, so there are wisdom psalms, those in which the philosophical note is prominent. A good illustration is Ps. lxxiii, a magnificent

poem dealing with the same great problem as the book of Job. The poet was troubled because he saw as a matter of fact that the wicked were prosperous while the righteous suffered adversity. The fact impressed him so, and was so contrary to his theological conviction, that he wellnigh lost his faith (vv. 2 f.). The solution came to him in the sanctuary (v. 17), where Isaiah saw his great vision. The poet conceived that the good fortunes of the wicked would come to an end suddenly; that God really set them in slippery places, and that their feet would slide in due time (*cf.* Ps. xxxvii, 35 f.). Another example is Ps. xlii-iii, the problem of which is the cause of the jeering remark, "Where is thy God?" There is no system worked out in this poem, but there is a fine expression of a confident faith that God would justify His servant. Ps. xlix is of this type, though the problem is slightly different. The difficulty which the poet tries to solve is the arrogance of the rich. The solution is not far to seek, and this poet sees that wealth is too insubstantial to put one's trust in, for death is the great leveller; and the grave separates a man from his substance.

No treatment of the Psalter would be complete which did not take cognizance of the imprecatory psalms, those in which maledictions are heaped upon the heads of an enemy. The psalms are pretty numerous in which this element appears here and there. The vindictive outburst occurs sometimes in an otherwise beautiful poem. No one has ever expressed the

pathos of an exile's pain more touchingly than the poet who wrote Ps. cxxxvii; and no one ever poured out more bitter execrations against his enemies than this same poet. It fairly makes a sensitive soul shudder as he reads the last verse of that song. There are two psalms in which the imprecatory note is so strong and so sustained that it is a wonder they have kept their places in the service of a Christian church, Pss. lxix, cix. Of the two the latter is by far the worst, for a large part of this poem (vv. 6-20) is a series of imprecations which breathe the very antithesis of the Christian spirit. It is easy to understand the genesis of such poems, and to sympathize with their authors. They come from the ages of persecution, like that of Antiochus Epiphanes. Those who were striving to serve God most faithfully paid a terrible penalty for their fidelity, and it is not surprising that a Jew, when every other weapon failed him, was constrained to employ curses as a last resort.

There are several acrostic poems in the Psalter. Ps. ix-x is a case in point, and this acrostic arrangement is one of the positive proofs of the original unity of the poem. But this feature shows here and elsewhere how much the text has been corrupted, largely by editorial changes, for the alphabetic system is only discoverable in a part of the psalm as it has come down to us. The most striking case is Ps. cxix, which consist of twenty-two strophes of eight lines each, and each of these eight lines begins with the same letter of the alphabet. The other acrostics are Pss.

xxv, xxxiv, xxxvii, cxi, cxii, cxlv. To xxv and xxxiv the last verse is a later addition, made for liturgical purposes. The supplementary character of the verses is shown by the fact that the penultimate verse begins with the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

In regard to the date of the Psalter, the problem is complex, and therefore misconceived. It is as if one were to ask the date of a hymnal; the collection can be traced to a fixed period, but the contents embrace the products of all the Christian ages. It used to be regarded as a commonplace among the more radical scholars that all the psalms were exilic or later. One would scarcely venture on such an assertion to-day. From the nature of the case it would be strange if there were not hymns ancient and modern in the book of Psalms. Doubtless there are many from the pre-exilic period, possibly some as early as "the Sweet Singer of Israel"; it is certain that some of them come from as late as the age of the Maccabees; Ps. lxxiv certainly fits that period better than any other we know. The real problem is the dating of each separate psalm, and as we have nothing at all as a guide save internal evidence, it is plain that as a rule the results are open to grave question. If we had no external data to enable us to fix the date and occasion of Newman's hymn, *Lead Kindly Light*, we might from the imagination fit it into the lives of any number of souls. Even the editors who prefixed the titles of the psalms relied apparently on internal evidence. Because they found a reference to the temple building

in Ps. cxxvii, it was ascribed to Solomon; because they read a story of deep penitence in Ps. li, they assigned it to David. We have no data that were not open to them, and may well be extremely cautious in our attempts to date the psalms.

It is a pity that the Church is so bound to a purely mechanical method of using these wonderful religious poems. They are read in order without any reference to subject, so that we have to jump from one emotion to another, with only a *gloria* in between. Then every psalm is read and every part, except the headings, without the slightest reference to their power to edify. Several of the psalms ought to be discarded altogether, and parts of others should be excided. This does not mean that we should revise the book of Psalms. In its place every line has its own great value; but it does mean that we should have a revised edition to use as a Christian hymnal.

Job

In the literature of the world there is scarcely to be found a finer production than the book of Job.

The prologue (cc. i, ii), the introduction to the Elihu speeches (xxxii, 1-5), and the epilogue (xlii, 7-17), are in prose, and the rest is in poetry, and usually of a high order.

The subject of this immortal book is the problem of evil; the book therefore belongs to the wisdom literature of the Old Testament. To this class belong also the books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. The wisdom

books are the philosophical treatises, those in which the Hebrew wise men sought to solve the mysteries of life.

According to Hebrew teaching, good and evil alike come from God. An illuminating case is the explanation of Saul's madness as the result of the departure of "the spirit of Jahveh" and the coming of "an evil spirit from Jahveh" (1 Sam. xvi, 14). The prophets with one voice taught that every calamity which befell the nation was sent from Jahveh. The doctrine went further, insisting that Jahveh sent evil to the bad and good to the righteous, whether an individual or a nation. The whole book of Deuteronomy enforces the teaching that the nation's weal or woe depended entirely upon their faithfulness to the divine law. The doctrine of the prophets was of the same tenor, and this theory of good and evil came to be the orthodox faith of Judaism. In the book of Job this received theology is seriously questioned.

The book is divided into five sections, and these are for the most part quite independent productions. Each part must be studied separately.

1. *The prologue* (i, ii).—This was probably written as an introduction to the poem, and yet in many respects it gives quite a different picture from the body of the discourses which follow. Job is a different character and the teaching is different. It is my belief that the prologue is composite, the original being i, 1-5, 13-22; ii, 8-13, to which the Satan episodes (i,

6-12; ii, 1-7) are a later addition. The original, then, told of Job's piety and prosperity, of the terrible calamities which overtook him, and of the coming of his three friends. This part is complete in itself and gives all the facts necessary as a basis for the poem. As it offers no explanation of the facts, it does not conflict with the body of the book. A later hand, belonging to a period when the doctrine of Satan had been developed, has added the Satan stories to give his own conception of the cause of Job's woe. This part of the prologue takes away the *raison d'être* of the discussion, for if Satan has brought this woe on an innocent man, the speeches all miss the point. There is absolutely no reference anywhere in the poem to the part played by Satan, and the speeches of Jahveh may fairly be said to exclude it.

Satan is conceived here as one who doubts all virtue, and who uses every art in his power to turn men away from a righteous course. His object is to bring Job to a state in which he will renounce God. He believes that Job is good only because God has so richly blessed him. He is conceived as persistent in his quest, for when he fails in his first test, he straightway demands another.

There is as yet no dualism, for Satan has no power to do Job any harm save as God gives him permission; and in each trial a strict limit is set to the evil he may do. The position is not very satisfactorily worked out, for it is inconceivable that God should permit such awful evil to come to a faithful servant

merely to satisfy the adversary of man that Job's virtue would stand any test.

2. *Job's discussion with his friends* (iii-xxxi).— There are three cycles of speeches, each cycle embracing a speech of each of the three friends and Job's reply, so that all through the dialogue every alternate speech belongs to Job.

It has been held that each of the three disputants occupies a different position, Eliphaz being regarded as the depository of a revelation, Bildad as the advocate of tradition, and Zophar as the man of common sense. A careful study of the speeches fails to find justification for this contention. The three friends all hold exactly the same theological position, and all explain Job's sufferings in the same way,— that is, as due to his own sin. This position is brought out with increasing clearness as the argument progresses and the disputants wax warm in their contentions.

Job breaks a seven-days' silence by pronouncing a curse upon the day he was born, and expressing a desire for death, by which alone relief can come to him. Job's heat is very manifest, and his vaunted patience is not easy to see, here or elsewhere. But we must admit that his provocation was great; for he had always been a faithful servant of God,—the prologue credits him with that,—and he asserts his innocence from the first note to the last. In spite of his unusual integrity he had been called upon to endure

the loss of all of his property and of his children, and had become the victim of the worst form of leprosy, one of the most loathsome of human diseases.

The three friends sincerely try to comfort and help the sufferer. It is plain that their original object was not to add bitterness to his misery by chiding. But they were dominated by a theory. However tender and delicate was their approach to the burning question, however much they knew of Job's virtue, and however ignorant they were of any vice, they were sure that his misfortunes must be the result of his sin. Their consideration at the beginning but poorly disguises their real position, and the implication, ultimately developed to a definite charge, goads the sufferer into speech that is not deeply pious. For Job insists that he has done no wrong, and therefore their explanation of his sufferings is worthless. He is led to the flat denial of the orthodox doctrine of evil on the convincing ground that it is not conistent with the facts of life, either of his life or that of others.

This part of the poem unfortunately is in a state of confusion at the end (cc. xxv-xxviii). As the text stands, Zophar does not speak in the third cycle. This fact in itself would heighten the dramatic power, as Zophar's failure to speak would suggest the silencing of Job's opponents. But as the material is arranged Job speaks at last from the same position as his friends and then reverts to his own standpoint in the general review of his case (cc. xxix-xxxi). Several scholars have attempted to rearrange the material so as to make

the cycle complete; and still the results but partly satisfy the reader. The fact is that the book of Job has been extensively worked over by editors to make it conform to the orthodox view, and the effort to bring Job to that position has seriously marred the closing part of the discussion. It is very likely that some of the third cycle has been deliberately excised.

3. *The speeches of Elihu* (cc. xxxii-xxxvii).—There is a rather long prose introduction to this new speaker, though he elaborately introduces himself in his speeches. There are four of these discourses: xxxii, 6–xxxiii; xxxiv; xxxv; xxxvi f. These speeches assume that the dialogue had ended because the three disputants had found nothing more to say. The speaker had waited because of his youth, but finally was forced to utterance, lest Job should think his arguments unanswerable. Elihu implies that he has an important contribution to make, and is certainly not lacking in confidence.

These speeches are undoubtedly a later addition to the book. Elihu is nowhere referred to outside of his own words. The passage introductory to the dialogue (ii, 11-13) excludes his presence. Jahveh finally condems the three friends (xlii, 7-9), but does not mention Elihu who was entitled to the same reproof. Job does not answer Elihu, implying that he had no answer to make, whereas it is the speeches of Jahveh which silence Job. In spite of his abundant promises, Elihu does not contribute anything new to the dis-

cussion, for there is not one of his points that is not covered in the preceding discourses of the three friends. Finally the style is decidedly inferior to the rest of the book. This part is the latest of all the material in the book of Job.

4. *The speeches of Jahveh* (xxxviii–xlii, 6).—The speeches are separated by a short address from Job (xl, 3-5), and Job speaks at the close, acknowledging his complete defeat (xlii, 1-6). It is natural to suppose that the author attempts here to say the last word on this subject, and therefore makes Jahveh the speaker. The speeches do not deal specfically with the problem of evil, but rather are pleas for the inadequacy of all human knowledge. The point is that man knows too little to justify his questioning of the ways of Providence.

The first speech (xxxviii–xl, 2), is a development of the argument from design, and is a wonderful piece of description. The speech is a record of the wonderful things in the world, which man knows as facts, but which he can neither control nor explain.

The second speech (xl, 6–xli) beigns with a challenge to the one who had sought the opportunity to confront God (xl, 6-14) and then strangely jumps to very elaborate descriptions of two great monsters, *behemoth* (the hippopotamus) (xl, 15-24) and *leviathan* (the crocodile) (xli). The presence of the long-drawn-out descriptions of these strange beasts is one of the puzzles of this difficult book. It is not unlikely that they are later additions.

5. *The epilogue* (xlii, 7-17).—Jahveh reproves the three friends on account of the error of their views, and commends Job. Job is restored to his condition of prosperity, and dies in a good old age. There is nothing said about the healing of his disease. The disease belongs wholly to one of the Satan stories, and the silence on this point reënforces my contention that those stories are later additions. As Jahveh commends Job's speech, which is certainly contrary to the speeches of Jahveh, the epilogue may be earlier than those speeches. The restoration of Job's prosperity brings the book back to the orthodox position, as the patriarch is in the end rewarded for his integrity.

The position of the book on the problem of evil is not a single one. Each contributor gave his own ideas, so that the complete work contains a sort of compendium of theories. In the prologue, or at least in one part of it, Satan is the source of the evil that comes to man, and virtue not only affords no guarantee against suffering, but may invite it. In the colloquies the position is negative. The author evidently speaks through Job, not through his friends; but his sole effort is to combat the prevalent view without offering a substitute. In the speeches of Jahveh the problem of evil is treated as a mystery beyond man's power to solve. The epilogue returns to the received theory that goodness in the end is sure to be rewarded.

In this day very few people would contend for the historicity of this book, though that position was

stoutly insisted on a few years ago. The book is so conspicuously a doctrinal treatise that any other interest seems quite foreign to the authors. Whether Job was a real person or not seems an unimportant question the moment we try, with the author, to penetrate the mystery of life.

The date of this book is one problem for the book as a whole, another for the various parts. There is good reason to believe that the colloquies are the earliest and the speeches of Elihu the latest productions. To determine the date of the colloquies (iii-xxxi), another question has to be raised: does the book treat of an individual, or is the subject really the nation? If Israel's woes are the subject of the author's investigation, then the book would fit almost any period in or after the exile. But I see no reason for the modern tendency towards this national interpretation. The fact is that the author of the book of Job was primarily concerned with a tremendous philosophical problem, a problem that has its application both to individual and to national life.

The date of an immortal production is really of little consequence. As a whole the book of Job probably comes from the Greek age, though, as shown above, parts of it are much earlier.

The Proverbs

The easy-going traditional interpretation assigned the whole book of Proverbs to Solomon. On the basis of the tales of Solomon's wisdom (1 Ki. iii, x) and

of his understanding of natural philosophy (1 Ki. iv, 33), and especially of the statement that he was the author of many proverbs and poems (1 Ki. iv, xxxii), it was natural that the students of an undiscriminating age should credit him with a book like this.

The book itself tells quite another story, for it is on the surface a composite production, consisting of a number of different collections. We can scarcely do better than to consider the various parts as they are arranged in the book itself. There are eight sections in the book as it stands.

1. *The praise of wisdom* (cc. i-ix).—In i, 1-6, there is very probably the introduction to the whole book. This part is very different from the rest of the book, for it is a poem with more or less continuity and on a single subject. The author is giving counsel to a 'son' or disciple, warning him of the dangers he will meet in life and exalting wisdom as the supremely safe guide. The wise man is the one who knows how to live, and who puts his knowledge into practice. Wisdom, therefore, has both an intellectual and a moral content.

This part consists of a series of discourses, although the marks of division are not always very plain. First there is a warning against being led astray by sinners, so that such serious crimes as robbery and murder result (i, 7-19). The penalty of turning away from the voice of wisdom is pictured (i, 20-33). The power of wisdom to keep one free from the influence of bad

men and bad women is the theme of c. ii. A distinct religious note appears in iii, 1-12, trust in Jahveh being commended, whether He blesses or afflicts; the praise of wisdom is then sung, and its place as an agent of God is depicted (iii, 13-26); and this is followed by specific precepts which the wise man will heed (iii, 27-35). There is a long section (iv, 1–v, 6) which is an appeal to the pupil to get wisdom, and the appeal is based on various considerations: wisdom has come down from father to son (iv, 1-9); it will protect its possessor from evil men (iv, 10-19); it will keep one in the straight path of virtue (iv, 20-27); and it shields from the wiles of the strange woman (v, 1-6), a danger emphasized frequently in Proverbs, and the subject of the paragraph which follows (v, 7-23). There are warnings against three dangers: suretyship (vi, 1-5), indolence (vi, 6-11), and false witness (vi, 12-19). There is another section on the dangers of the bad woman, from whose snares wisdom is a sufficient protection (vi, 20-35), and the same subject is fully developed in c. vii. The praise of wisdom is sung aloud in c. viii, and its accomplishments are dwelt on. In part of the chapter wisdom is personified. The place of wisdom in the work of God is described, wisdom being with him from the beginning, and pictured in a fashion reminding us of the logos doctrine of St. John's gospel (vv. 22-31). Finally, Wisdom invites all to partake of her treasures (ix, 1-6); some counsel against scoffers is injected (ix, 7-12); and the section closes with a picture of the danger of

the foolish woman (ix, 13-18), which may stand for Folly as contrasted with Wisdom.

It is rather remarkable that the chief danger in a man's life, according to this writer, is that of the strange woman. Other perils are indeed noticed, but this vice reappears again and again as the great sin to avoid which wisdom's help is needed.

2. *The Proverbs of Solomon* (x, 1–xxii, 16)—The heading shows that this collection was attributed to Solomon, and this section must have existed separately and as a complete whole when our present book was made up. Here we have the first of the real proverbs, and all of them are in the form of distichs except one, xix, 7, and the defect in the form in that case must be due to a corruption of the text.

There are several cases of the repetition of proverbs, e.g. x, 1=xv, 20; x, 2=xi, 4; xi, 15=xvii, 18=xx, 16, though sometimes with a slight variation of language. This may be due to the fact that this collection was made up of a number of smaller groups; or the collector may have known proverbs which varied slightly in form, and gathered all he could find, carefully preserving these duplicates.

It frequently happens that there are several proverbs on the same subject, but as a rule these are scattered through the collection, showing that the compiler was not concerned to arrange his material systematically, but attempted to gather these terse sayings without much reference to subject-matter. The proverbs have

not, as a rule, the tone of popular sayings, but are worked out with a good deal of care, and show the fruits of much philosophical reflection. There are very many cases of what is called antithetic parallelism, though this feature is most marked in cc. x-xv.

The proverbs are moral precepts, and they cover a large number of subjects. Some of these, naming chiefly those on which there are several different sayings, are: industry (x, 4f.; xi, 11, 24; xiii, 4; xix, 15, 24; xx, 4); wealth (x, 15; xii, 9; xiii, 11; xv, 16f.; xvi, 8, 19; xx, 21; xxii, 1); the problem of evil (x, 16-30; xi, 4, 10, 18-21; xii, 7, 21; xiii, 22); the right use of reproof (x, 17; xii, 1; xiii, 1; xv, 5, 10, 32); truthfulness (xii, 19, 22; xiii, 5; xiv, 5); prudence in speech (x, 14; xi, 13; xii, 23; xiii, 3; xxi, 23); control of temper (xiv, 17, 29; xvi, 32); the sacred lot (xvi, 33; xviii, 18); woman (xi, 22; xii, 4; xviii, 22; xix, 13; xxi, 9, 19); the king (xiv, 28, 34f.; xvi, 10, 12-15; xix, 12; xx, 2, 8, 26, 28; xxi, 1; xxii, 11).

3. *The words of the wise* (xxii, 17–xxiv, 22).—The first part (xxii, 17-21) is a hortatory introduction. It would appear that the collection is made up of precepts given by a teacher to a pupil who had been sent to him to learn the way of life. This introduction bears a certain resemblance to the preface to St. Luke's gospel (i, 1-4). This part is not so much a group of gnomic sayings as a series of counsels, each point sustained by argument. There is a great deal about the value of wisdom, reminding us of the first section

of the book, cc. i-ix. There is more of a religious note in this part than in the others, the author frequently appealing to the sanction of Jahveh for his advice. On the whole, the counsel is that of a prudent man who values a safe way of living, and thus the section closes with a warning against revolution (xxiv, 20-22). The tone of the precepts suggests a dangerous period, when evil-doers abounded, and one might be tempted to undertake impossible things. The moral note seems to rise to a high point for a moment in forbidding joy over the fall of an enemy (xxiv, 17), but it falls to earth again when the reason is given that such a course might excite Jahveh's compassion towards the fallen foe (xxiv, 18). There is a short poem embodied in the sayings, counselling the pupil against the danger of wine drinking (xxii, 29-35). As in the first section, the teacher points out the dangers from the bad woman (xxiii, 26-28).

4. *Further words of the wise* (xxiv, 23-34).—This passage has the very short heading: "These also are of the wise." It is an appendix to section 3, and has much the same character. About half of the passage deals with the perils of idleness (vv. 30-34).

5. *The second group of the Proverbs of Solomon* (xxv-xxix).—There is an interesting heading to this collection: "These also are proverbs of Solomon which the men of Hezekiah king of Judah copied out" (xxv, 1). The claim is that this group was made two centuries after the time of Solomon. The age of

Hezekiah was in a way a literary age, as it was the golden period of prophecy. The heading implies that this group was added to the book long after the time of Hezekiah. Whether the heading conveys trustworthy information or not is a disputed question. Such headings, as a rule, to the prophets and psalms do not bear critical investigation. In this case, however, the information is not in itself improbable except in regard to the Solomonic authorship. For it is perfectly possible that proverbs were collected as early as the age of Hezekiah.

The group must be divided into two parts, for there is considerable difference in style between xxv-xxvii and xxviii, xxix. The former is more like "the words of the wise," the latter resembles "the Proverbs of Solomon" (x-xxii, 16). The heading suggests that the editor of the book attached this as a sort of supplement to x-xxii, 16. Yet the variation of style indicates that this group is a combination of two earlier collections.

There are several cases in this collection in which there is a proverb identical with one in other collections, or similar to it, thus: xxvi, 22=xviii, 8; xxviii, 6=xix, 1; xxvi, 15=xix, 24; xxvii 13=xx, 16; xxv, 24=xxi, 9; xxvii, 12=xxii, 3. Within the collection there is one case of repetition,—xxviii, 12=xxix, 2.

There is more of a tendency in this part to group the proverbs by subjects, showing a more careful editing. At the beginning there is a collection about kings (xxv, 2-7), consisting of four separate proverbs,

v. 2, v. 3, vv. 4, 5, vv. 6, 7. The counsel in the last proverb reminds us of the very puzzling parable about taking the chief seat at feasts (St. Lu. xiv, 7-11).

The proverb on dealing with an enemy (xxv, 21 f.) serves as the basis for some new Testament teaching (*cf.* St. Mat. v, 44; Rom. xii, 20). There is a group of proverbs about dealing with fools (xxvi, 1-12). That we are dealing with the work of a collector, and not an author, is apparent from the fact that here two sucessive sayings give absolutely contradictory advice, one counselling to pay a fool in his own coin (v. 4), the other urging the opposite course (v. 5). There follows a group about sluggards (xxvi, 13-16) in which we have a specimen of Hebrew humor (v. 15). It was a favorite saying, as it is already found in xix, 24. There is a lengthy collection about the tattler (xxvi, 20-28). At the end of the first subdivision there is a short poem on industry (xxvii, 23-27).

6. *The words of Agur* (c. xxx).—There is much uncertainty about the proper translation of the heading. But the whole of v. 1 is the heading, and it may be rendered: "The words of Agur the son of Jakeh, the prophecy, the utterance of the man to Ithiel. To Ithiel and Ukal." The text is very uncertain, but it appears that we have the name of the author, Agur, and the names of the disciples to whom the teaching was given.

The passage contains a confession of ignorance (vv. 2-4), in which there is a note of skepticism, a

caution to accept litterally the word of God (vv. 5 f); a prayer against either poverty or riches (vv. 7-9), a warning against accusing the servant of another (v. 10), and a series of riddles in the form of tetrads.

7. *The words of King Lemuel* (xxxi, 1-9), to which the title adds, "the prophecy which his mother taught him."—The fragment is really counsel to a king from his mother, warning him to keep clear of women and strong drink, and to judge rightly the lowly. It would be more appropriate therefore if the title were: *The words to King Lemuel.*

8. *The industrious woman* (xxx, 10-31).—This is an acrostic poem, like those in Lamentations, praising the woman who is a tireless worker. The ideal of woman is not very high, but to the Jew, as to many others, a thrifty, energetic wife was deemed a great blessing.

Daniel

Daniel, like the book of Ezra, is written partly in Aramaic and partly in Hebrew, the portion in the former language being ii, 4*b*-7. It is impossible to give any satisfactory reason for the change of tongue, all the conjectures hitherto made proving inadequate.

In the English Bible Daniel is grouped with the prophets. But the resemblance to the prophetic books is not very close, elastic as the term "prophet" is in Hebrew use. Still the similarity of cc. vii-xii to books like Ezekiel and Zechariah lends some color to

the classification. The book falls into two parts, and these parts differ from each other in a marked way.

1. *Cc. i-vi.*—In this part we have a series of tales, including much of the marvelous, and in all but one of which Daniel figures as the hero. Nevertheless, the stories are not told to exalt Daniel, but to show the power and glory of God, and the reward that falls to His faithful servants.

In c. i there is the introduction, showing how Daniel and his three associates, being of royal or noble birth, were initiated into the mysteries of Chaldean wisdom. The four Jews were exiles who had been captured at Jerusalem and taken to Babylon. They were all rechristened with Babylonian names, though Daniel's new name (Belteshazzar) appears in but one of the stories (iv), the other identifications being editorial (iv, 19; x, 1). Daniel refused to eat of the royal dainties, preferring pulse and water, and yet his flesh was better than that of youths who ate of the king's bounties. The four become skilled in learning and wisdom, Daniel being especially expert in the understanding of visions and dreams.

In c. ii occurs the story of Nebuchadrezzar's forgotten dream, which his wise men could not recall, but which Daniel reproduced and interpreted, resulting in the king's acknowledgement of Daniel's God and his promotion of Daniel and his three associates to positions of great honor. In the next tale (iii, 1-30) Daniel does not appear, the heroes being Shadrach,

Meshach and Abednego. As these men refused to bow down to the king's royal image they were cast into a superheated furnace, from which they later emerged without any damage, the fire not even leaving an odor that could be detected on them. This led to a decree forbidding anyone to speak against the God who had so miraculously protected His servants.

In iv there is a piece of royal autobiography. The king dreams of a majestic tree; and here his wise men were unable to interpret the vision, and thus Daniel is given the opportunity to show his power. His interpretation predicts a period of insanity for Nebuchadrezzar, a prediction perfectly fulfilled, the king being restored and giving credit to the Most High.

In c. v, without any notice of a change, Belshazzar is the king of Babylon, and he is called the son of Nebuchadrezzar. At a banquet, in which the king and his fellow-revellers drink wine from the sacred vessels which had been plundered from the temple of Jerusalem, a mysterious handwriting appears on the wall, which the wise men are unable either to read or explain. At the suggestion of the queen, Daniel is brought in, and he readily solves the mystery, the mystic words pointing to the speedy downfall of the king.

We are brought to the reign of Darius in the last of the tales, which affords a good climax (v, 31–vi). Daniel is in high favor with the king, and holds so prominent a position that the jealousy of the other

officials is aroused and they hatch a clever plot to accomplish their rival's destruction. In spite of a royal decree, Daniel prays as usual and in a place where he may be seen of men. The king is deeply distressed when he sees Daniel in the toils, and expresses the hope that Daniel's God would save him, and fasts the whole night while Daniel was in the den of lions. The accusers of the unharmed sage are fed to the lions, whose mouths had been closed against Daniel.

The meaning of these stories is plain. They teach the triumph of the servants of God, but not in war. The contest waged against foreigners is no longer with the sword of steel, but with the sword of the spirit. In three of the tales the plot is the victory of Daniel over the wise men of Chaldea, and in two others the point is that no power can really harm the faithful followers of God.

Practically all modern scholars explain these stories as tales written to teach a religious lesson rather than as a record of historic fact. The author shows himself but poorly informed in the history of the period. So far as we know, there was no conquest of Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim as stated in i, 1. Nabunidus was the successor of Nebuchadrezzar (not Belshazzar), and he was not his son. The reign of Darius is placed directly after that of Belshazzar (v, 30 f.); and Darius is made the son of Ahasuerus (Xerxes) (ix, 1). As a matter of fact Darius was the father of Xerxes, and ruled later than Cyrus, in the first year of whose reign Daniel's career is said to

have ended (i, 21). These errors are due to the fact that the author of the stories lived long after the period, and that his interest lay in the religious lessons, not in the chronology of the Babylonian and Persian kings.

2. *Cc. vii-xii.*—This part of the book is apocalyptic. First, there are two dreams, and their interpretation (vii, 8). But now Daniel, not the kings of Babylonia, is the dreamer. In fact, no persons figure in this part of the book save Daniel and the celestial beings who communicate with him. Following this there is a prayer by Daniel, asking that the sins of the nation be forgiven in view of the approaching end of the seventy years of the exile, and the reply of the angel Gabriel explaining the delay, but promising the fulfilment of God's promises at the end of seventy weeks of years (ix). Finally, in x-xii, we have a sort of vision which Daniel saw by the Tigris, with which we may compare Ezekiel's visions by the Chebar.

There are so many references to comparatively unknown historic events that it is difficult to get much satisfaction out of this section, and in the whole book the symbols have received many diverse interpretations. There is one point that is now deemed certain, and that is that this part of the book has as its main background the terrible persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes.

This king conceived the idea of religious unity for his whole Syrian kingdom, and so it was decreed that

everyone should conform to the Greek religion, and the Jews were required to sacrifice the unclean swine's flesh. The period was accordingly one of terrible persecution to the Jews, and the promises of God seemed further from fulfilment than ever. Underneath all the strange symbols, there runs on the one hand the despair of the people in the face of the bitter calamities, and the conviction that in due time God would show His power on behalf of His people.

Daniel is very probably a historic person, and he was famous as a sage, even as David was famous as a poet, Moses as a law-giver, and Solomon as a philosopher. Tales of Daniel's sagacity were told later than the development of the canon, some of the best ones being preserved only in the Apocrypha, in the tales of Bel and the Dragon and the History of Susanna.

The Megilloth

Five books of the Old Testament, all falling in the third division of the Hebrew canon, are grouped together under the designation *Megilloth*, which means "rolls" (of manuscript). The books have really nothing in common save that they were publicly read at festivals,—Canticles at Passover, Ruth at Pentecost, Lamentations on the day commemorating the fall of Jerusalem, Ecclesiastes at Booths, and Esther at Purim.

1. *The Song of Songs*

From the heading in i, 1, the title of this book in our English Bibles is *The Song of Solomon*. The Vulgate translates the first two words of the text

canticum canticorum, whence we have the common title *Canticles*. The Hebrew title is *Shir Hasshirim* (=*Song of Songs*), the construction having a superlative sense, and so meaning the supremely great song. Hence R. Akiba said, "The whole world is not worth the day on which the Song was given to Israel." The phrase in the title, "which is to Solomon," may indicate a dedication.

The Song had a hard struggle to secure a place in the canon. Even when canonical recognition was secured, the Jews made a rule that the book should not be read by any person under thirty years of age. The book has been highly esteemed and widely used for homiletic purposes, St. Bernard preaching a series of eighty-six sermons thereon, and then only getting to iii, 1, for his texts.

The interpretation has passed through three stages, and a study of these stages shows the various ideas of the structure and character of the book:

a. The allegorical.—This method of interpretation was the ground on which the book was admitted to the canon. The Jewish exegetes held that the poem was an allegory of the love between God and Israel, conceiving that the song portrayed the whole history of Israel. This suggestion was followed by Christian interpreters, with inevitable modifications, making it a prophetic picture of the love between Christ and the Church. The New Testament portrayal of the Church as the bride of Christ naturally prepared the way for this interpretation.

b. The dramatic.—The basis of this conception of the book is the acceptance of the view that the Song of Songs portrays human love. The elder Delitzsch developed this interpretation, but he made the poem a drama with two characters only, Solomon and the Shulammite maiden. Ewald improved the theory by adding a third *dramatis persona*, introducing a shepherd lover, from whom Solomon tries to win the rustic maiden. This theory of the book was generally held for many years, and yet it never worked out satisfactorily, for it is impossible to fit the various parts to the scheme.

c. The third view is that the Song is a collection of love songs, and these portray sometimes very outspokenly the passions of men and women. J. G. Wetstein, who was the German consul at Damascus, noticed that many of the songs sung during the seven days' celebration of Oriental marriages closely resembled those in this book. This theory has been worked out by many able scholars, and is very generally accepted to-day. The objections raised for the most part ignore the fact that marriage is a divine institution and that the proper basis for marriage is love.

The date of the poem is hard to fix, and is not very important. There are linguistic features which suggest either an early date in the Northern Kingdom or a late date in Judah. As there are many songs in the collection, some of them may be early even though the completed book is late.

2. *Ruth*

In our English Bibles this little book follows Judges, because of the heading "in the days when the judges judged" (i, 1). Originally it could have had no such connection, or it would not have been placed in the *Hagiographa*. Color is given to this position by the appendix giving the ancestry of David from Perez the son of Judah (iv, 18-22). But the book shows that while the author is writing of the pre-Davidic period, that age is conceived as in the distant past; we note particularly the explanation of an ancient custom of drawing off the shoe as a witness of a contract (iv, 7 f.).

There is in no literature a more beautifully told story. A famine in Judah drives a family of Bethlehemites to the fertile plains of Moab. Here the two sons marry Moabite maidens, and this marriage is without offense. All the males of the family die in Moab, and the bereaved Naomi returns to her own people. One of her widowed daughters-in-law will not be left behind and changes her home, religion and people. In the course of time, acting under the tutelage of the shrewd Naomi, Ruth is taken to wife by Boaz, a rich and powerful kinsman of her mother-in-law, and to this young Moabite is born Obed, the grandfather of the renowned David.

The book is written obviously with a didactic purpose. It contains two lessons. One is the innocence of marriage to a foreigner. If the great-grand-

mother of the king after God's own heart was a maiden of Moab, there could be no real ground for the protest against matrimonial alliances with aliens. The other lesson is the duty of levirate marriage,—a kind of marriage having the sanction of law and custom (Deut. xxv, 5-10; Gen. xxxviii). The lesson is perhaps all the more impressive as the case requires extension of the law from a brother to any near kinsman. The first of these lessons has led many scholars to assign the book to the Persian age, regarding it as a protest against the narrow policy of Nehemiah (Neh. xiii, 23-28) and of Ezra (Ezr. ix, x).

3. *Lamentations*

In the English Bible this book follows Jeremiah on the ground that he was the author, a tradition found in a heading in the Septuagint. There is nothing to support the Jeremian authorship except the general idea that dirges would be most naturally attributable to him, and that the poems deal with the fall of Jerusalem, an unhappy event which fell in his day. Many reasons have been urged to the contrary, and the general opinion is not only that Jeremiah was not the author, but that no one person wrote all of these dirges.

For there are really five independent poems, all having a common theme, and some of them having common forms. The first four poems—each chapter contains a separate production—are acrostics, following the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. In cc. i, ii each verse has three members or lines, and the alphabetic

letter is used only at the beginning of the verse. The poem in c. iv is the same, save that each verse contains but two members. In c. iii each verse contains three lines, and each line begins with the proper alphabetic letter. This poem contains sixty-six lines; the first three lines begin with a word whose initial letter is *aleph*, the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and this highly artificial procedure is carried out through the whole. The fifth dirge is not alphabetic, and yet there are the proper twenty-two verses, corresponding to the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet.

The dirges, as hinted above, all bewail the fall of Jerusalem in 586, and whoever the author or authors were, they had the gift of singing a pathetic song of distress. In Lam. i the theme is the utter desolation of Zion, the absence of any friend of Judah, and the hand of Jahveh as the source of the blow. In Lam. ii the theme is the anger of Jahveh and the terrible destruction that resulted. The only human element noted is the deceiving visions of Jahveh's prophets. Lam. iii rises to a more hopeful strain in that the poet is sure of the mercy of Jahveh, so that He will not utterly destroy His people. Here we find the prophetic conception of sin as the cause of Jahveh's severe punishment. In at least a part of the dirge the nation is personified. Lam. iv pictures particularly the terrible suffering of the famished inhabitants; the idea of sin as the cause is introduced; and the typical bitterness towards Edom finds expression (vv. 21, 22). In Lam. v the desolation is painted so

as to move Jahveh to compassion, and the dirge closes with a fervent appeal for His help.

4. *Ecclesiastes*

The Hebrew title is *Qoheleth*, a word rendered "Preacher" in the English Bibles, but which the Greeks translated *Ecclesiastes*. The meaning of *qoheleth* is not certainly known, but it has something to do with the congregation, and may mean "a speaker in the assembly." While that idea is widely accepted, it is not at all appropriate to the use in this book; for *qoheleth* is a solitary figure, soliloquizing on the problems of life, and shows no trace of any disposition to appear as a public speaker.

This book is one of the strangest in the Bible. It puzzled the ancients and had a hard struggle for canonical recognition. Perhaps such recognition was only obtained by the help of one or more editors. The book puzzles the modern student as well, for there are problems for the interpreter which have led to countless divergent views. Whatever else he was, Qoheleth was a thorough-going pessimist. It certainly was his opinion that there was very little good in life. The book is a product of the dark ages in Hebrew history, and is rightly assigned to the gloomy part of the Greek period, perhaps shortly before the Maccabean revolt.

The author writes from a wide experience of life, and one of his main points is the failure of the received views. It had been held that the righteous

prosper, but Qoheleth finds that good and evil have nothing to do with character,—"all things come alike to all: there is one event to the righteous and to the wicked" (ix, 2). Comfort had come to many from the development of the idea of the future life, but Qoheleth takes a distinct Sadducean position, insisting that man perishes finally in death, even as the beasts (iii, 19 ff.–ix, 4-10). The author had tried all the supposed good things of life: he had pursued wisdom, only to find that it was "a striving after wind" (i, 12-18); he had given himself up to pleasure, and had tasted it in every known form, only to discover that it ends in vanity (ii, 1-11).

Moreover, Qoheleth was a fatalist. He believed that the course of events in the world was fixed, and could not be changed, no matter what any man did; "that which hath been is that which shall be" (i, 9); "for everything there is a reason, and a time for every purpose under heaven: a time to be born and a time to die" (iii, 1 f.). Even when a more hopeful note is promised, the tone gradually changes to despondency. Few books contain a more eloquent passage than that bidding the young glory in their youth (xi, 9–xii, 8), and yet the passage in the end groans with the despair of hopeless old age.

There is another note running through the book. Thus the passage just cited ends: "The spirit returneth unto God who gave it." Again we read, "for to the man that pleaseth him, God giveth wisdom, and knowledge and joy, but to the sinner he

giveth travail" (ii, 26). Again, "I know that it shall be well with them that fear God" (viii, 12). Passages of this kind have led to the theory that the book was a sort of a dialogue, like Job, two assumed persons arguing for different positions. But the book will not bear that sort of an explanation, and the conclusion is inevitable that these short passages were added by later hands to make the book more acceptable to a religious people.

5. *Esther*

The scene of the story is laid in Susa, the capital of Persia, at the court of King Ahasuerus (Xerxes). The king held a great feast, and when heated by wine ordered his queen Vashti brought before the revellers to exhibit her beauty. As she refused to appear, by the advise of the seven princes, she was deposed. In a competitive contest for the vacant place, Esther, the cousin of Mordecai, is successful and wins peculiar honor from the king. Great pains were taken to conceal the fact that she was of the Jewish race.

Haman comes to the front as the chief minister of the king, but Mordecai refuses him homage, even though the royal edict enjoined upon all subjects that obligation, whereupon Haman determined to have revenge by exterminating all the Jews. The plot was foiled by Esther acting at Mordecai's request and according to his instructions, even though she took her life in her hand in approaching the king without invitation. The tables are neatly turned on Haman,

and he is hung on the gigantic gallows he had erected for Mordecai's execution, and Mordecai becomes chief minister in his place. By royal edict the Jews are authorized to make war on their enemies, and 75,000 are slain in the Persian Empire, besides 800 in the capital itself. To commemorate this great triumph over their foes, the feast of Purim was instituted and was to be kept annually on the fourteenth of Adar.

Formerly there was much doubt about the identity of Ahasuerus, but now the controversy is set at rest by the discovery of the name on the Persian monuments. Ahasuerus is the proper Persian name which has come to us through the Greek in a corrupt form as Xerxes I, who reigned 485-464 B.C.

There is general agreement that the book is a unit with the possible exception of ix, 20-x, 3. These verses have peculiar features, and yet the book is not complete without them, so that Paton holds that ix, 20-x, 1, was an earlier document and is incorporated bodily by the author of Esther (*Int. Crit. Comm.*, p. 60).

The book is named from the heroine, like Ruth and Judith. There is no ground for supposing that Esther was the author. The date of the story is definitely fixed in the reign of Xerxes, but the date of the composition is not so easily determined. It could not be earlier that about 450, and may be much later. The majority of modern scholars assign it to the Greek period, some bringing it down to the second century.

The book is peculiar in that it does not contain the name of God; indeed there is little of a religious or

ethical tone in the book anywhere. It closely approaches the spirit of the apocalyptic literature. It is a picture of the struggles of the Jews with the races which held them in scorn and bondage.

It is generally conceded that the one purpose of the book is to show the origin of the Feast of Purim and to enforce its observance. But it appears to bring out some other points dear to the heart of the Jews. The fate of Vashti is a warning to all women who dare to question even the most unreasonable commands of their husbands. It brings out too the shrewdness of the Jews in outwitting their enemies, illustrating how a man's wickedness may fall upon his own pate.

The one problem of the book that was much debated in the past was that of its historicity. To-day nearly all scholars are agreed that the story of Esther is without any historical foundation. In some respects the book gives a correct picture of conditions in the Persian Empire, but that of course does not prove that it is historical. The main points urged against its historicity are these:

(1) There is no reason to believe that an edict of a Persian king could not be countermanded, as held here (i, 19–viii, 8). That theory was necessary for the story, otherwise the author would have had no ground for the massacre of the Jews' enemies. (2) It is impossible that Xerxes would have issued orders authorizing civil war in his dominions. (3) The chronology is quite inconsistent. Mordecai is said to have been taken captive with Jeconiah, i.e. 598 B.C.,

and he is still a hale person at ths Persian court more than a century later. (4) It is quite impossible for a Persian queen to be chosen as Esther was, for the law limited the king's choice to seven noble Persian families. The theory that Esther was only a royal favorite, as urged to make the story plausible, is inconsistent with her position as described in the narrative. (5) There is no ground for the assertion that it was perilous to approach the royal person without a summons (iv, 11). (6) The persons whose names abound in the book, many of them being people of great prominence, are unknown in history. (7) According to Herodotus the name of Xerxes' queen was Amestris, and identification with Esther is quite impossible; besides Amestris was the daughter of a Persian officer. (8) While we cannot lay stress upon figures, the statement that Haman built a gallows eighty-three feet high puts a strain upon our faith. (9) Finally, the origin of the Feast of Purim is not very satisfactory. It derives its name from *pur*, "the lot" (iii, 7). But *pur* is unknown in the Persian language, and this incident makes but a slight connection with the feast. A fast rather than a feast would be the proper commemoration of the casting of a lot to determine a day upon which the Jews were to be massacred. It is true that the scholars are quite at sea as to the origin of this feast. It is urged by many that it is an adaptation of a Persian or Babylonian festival. The feast was certainly observed by the Jews, but, like a great many other institutions, it is not possible to trace it to its source.

VI.

THE APOCRYPHA

A GENERAL account of the Old Testament should not wholly neglect the so-called apocryphal books. These books are those found in the Greek, but not in the Hebrew canon; that is, they are those of which no Hebrew original was known. The classification is not altogether correct; for 1 Esdras, as shown above (under *Ezra-Nehemiah*), is nothing but a translation of a part of that original Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah. Within recent years a Hebrew text of a large part of Ecclesiasticus has been found, and it may well be that all of these books are translations.

In the Articles of Religion, a body of doctrine almost forgotten now, there is an attempt to differentiate the apocryphal from the canonical books on the basis of the character of the contents, the apocryphal books being regarded as suitable for edification, but not for doctrine. The distinction is not very real, for the doctrine of the resurrection could hardly be established from the canonical books, while it is a cornerstone in the teaching of the Wisdom of Solomon. There are legendary tales in the Apocrypha; but so there are in the canonical books.

So far as literary character is concerned, in this collection we have poetical books and narrative books. The poetical books are two, the Wisdom of Solomon and Ecclesiasticus, and they are very noble poems in-

deed. The former is particularly beautiful in thought and expression, and is a product of the developing Pharisaic school, pleading for the idea of immortality. Ecclesiasticus is professedly a Greek translation of a wisdom book written by Jesus the son of Sirach. The translation was made in Alexandria about 132 B.C. The book is quite in the style of Proverbs, especially of cc. i-ix. The aim of the book is to teach men how to get along in life, and the general principle is one of expediency.

In regard to the narrative books, several of them are associated with books in the canon. 1 Esdras, as already stated, is a good translation of 2 Chr. xxxv f., Ezra, and Neh. viii, 1-12, though it contains a section (iii, 1–v, 6) that is not in the Hebrew Bible. It is much more useful than the Septuagint translation, so much so that it has been held that in this case the apocryphal and canonical books have become transposed.

2 Esdras is quite a different matter. There is nothing but the name to connect this book with Ezra. For in this book the hero is conceived as a prophet, and he sees visions and receives communications, like Daniel, by the intermediate angel. The book is an attempt to lift the veil of the future. The setting is the Babylonian exile, and the light the prophet is seeking is on the future of his people. It is a book known by our Lord, as the reference to the hen gathering her chickens under her wings shows (i, 30); also we find, "ask and ye shall receive" (ii, 13).

The title given to another book, *The Rest of Esther*, is correct, for these are supplementary stories of Mordecai. In one there is the interpretation of a dream (x, 4-13), the dream itself being given in xi, 5-11. Mordecai is suitably introduced in xi, 1-4, because in the Greek text that is the beginning of the book. It is claimed that the record of this dream had been preserved, though it was attached to the book in the time of Ptolomy and Cleopatra. There is a story of Mordecai's saving the king from two eunuchs who meditated his assassination (xii, 1-6); there is the decree of Artaxerxes ordering the destruction of the Jewish people, and Mordecai's prayer for succor in the crisis (xiii), and Esther's prayer under the same circumstances (xiv); there is an account of her entrance into the presence of the king, whose wrath was turned to compassion when the queen fainted (xv). Finally there is a decree of Artaxerxes, reversing the former decree against the Jews, and extolling them and their religion (xvi).

As these additional chapters are scattered through the book as it appears in the Greek text, it seems that there were two editions of Esther, as there were of other Old Testament books, and that the shorter edition found its place in the Hebrew text, and the longer one in the Greek.

The book of Baruch is a sort of supplement to Jeremiah. It professes to be written in Babylon after the destruction of Jerusalem. The book was sent to Jerusalem with money for sacrifices, imploring the

people to pray for the welfare of the Babylonian kings. It consists of a long prayer, justifying the punishment in the exile, and of an address to the people. There is appended a letter of Jeremiah to those about to be deported to Babylon, showing the absurdity of the Babylonian deities and warning the exiles not to worship them.

Three of the apocryphal books are supplements to the book of Daniel. The Song of the Three Holy Children contains a prayer of Azarias (Abednego), an account of the efforts to keep the furnace hot, and of its cooling by an angel from the Lord, so that the fire did not harm the three faithful servants of God. Then we find the Song of Praise sung by the three victims, a part of which has found its place in Christian worship as the *Benedicite*, which, though a joyful song of praise, is usually sung only in Lent. The History of Susanna shows Daniel's human wisdom, in that he cleverly confounds the false witnesses who had sworn away the honor of the heroine. Bel and the Dragon shows the same trait. Both might be classed as detective stories. In the latter Daniel neatly exposes the claim that the food placed in the temple is eaten by the gods. The ashes he sprinkles upon the floor show the footprints of the priests, who take away the food in the night.

The Prayer of Manasseh might well be in the second book of Chronicles (xxxiii, 13). Undoubtedly it was composed with reference to the chronicler's tale of the repentance of this wicked king. It is a very

humble confession, beautiful in its conception of divine forgiveness, and bringing out strongly the place of repentance in the life of a sinner.

The book of Tobit introduces a member of the tribe of Naphtali after the fall of the Northern Kingdom. It is the story of a Jew who was faithful to his principles while living among foreigners in Assyria. The chief point of interest is the havoc wrought by Asmodæus the evil spirit, and the neutralizing of his powers by certain rites prescribed by the angel Raphael.

In the book of Judith we have a thrilling tale of the heroism of a woman. Judith reminds us therefore of Deborah. The history is pretty sadly confused, as the story is laid in the days of Nebuchadrezzar, and yet in Judah the people have returned from captivity and the temple has been rebuilt (iv, 2 f.). Nebuchadrezzar, who is called the king of Assyria, was engaged in war with Arphaxad, the king of Media, and had ordered all his subject peoples to join his standard. His call was disregarded in the west, and therefore, after the war was over, he sent Holofernes with a great army to punish the disobedient states. The army sweeps through the country working terrible havoc among the people, until they came to the great ridge of Judea.

In their desperate straits, after the enemy had seized their water supply, the Jews agreed to surrender unless succor came within five days. Then Judith, a beautiful and rich widow of the tribe of Manasseh,

appears as a second Jael. She goes into the camp of the enemy, accompanied only by her maid. By her grace and beauty she stirs the passions of Holofernes, and a plot is laid to get her in his power. But at the banquet, which is to mark her humiliation, Holofernes drinks himself into a state of helplessness, and when all his servants withdraw by prearrangement, Judith goes to his bed, cuts off his head and carries it back to her own people. The death of the leader throws the hostile army into a panic, and it is easily routed by the Judean forces.

The books of Maccabees are of vast importance, because they contain the only records of one of the greatest struggles in Hebrew history. Both books deal with the same subject,—the revolt of the aged Mattathias, and the resulting wars waged by his sons. The two books are not related as 1 and 2 Samuel, but are independent accounts of the same period. 1 Maccabees is much the more valuable from the historic point of view. Indeed it is one of the soberest historic writings in Hebrew literature. The evidence indicates that the book was originally written in Hebrew and that what has come down to us is therefore a Greek translation. At all events the book contains many Semitic idioms, and shows occasionally the usual misunderstanding of the original.

2 Maccabees appears to have been written in Greek, and shows marked differences from the first book. Especially it deals more with the religious and less with the historic side. At some points it presents

the history in a somewhat different way, and again it contains material not in the first book, and is therefore a useful supplement.

Early in the second century B.C. Judea had become the vassal of the kingdom of Syria. There was a strong Greek influence at work among the Hebrews, to which many of them had succumbed. There was a marked tendency to darken the austere discipline of the Hebrew legalism. On the other hand, Antiochcus Epiphanes, the Syrian king at Antioch, desired to unify the religion of his whole realm, and gave orders that only the rites of the Greek religion should be permitted in his realm, and that all subject peoples should conform to this rule. Many of the Jews were quick to seek favor by compliance, but not so with the aged Mattathias, who slew one of the renegades with his own hands.

The Maccabees had to fight against fearful odds, but they were possessed of the Jewish heroic spirit at its best, and the books tell a truly wonderful story of the victories won by men who believed that with the help of their God, their land could be saved by many or by few.